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THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Georgia Historical Quarterly

ARTICLES

- 215 LYNN WILLOUGHBY WARE *Cotton Money: Antebellum Currency Conditions in the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley*
- 234 W. FITZHUGH BRUNDAGE *The Darien "Insurrection" of 1899: Black Protest During the Nadir of Race Relations*

REVIEW ESSAY

- 254 JASON H. SILVERMAN *Roots Revisited: The Anglicization of America*

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

- 269 LEE W. FORMWALT *Planters and Cotton Production as a Cause of Confederate Defeat: Evidence from Southwest Georgia*

GEORGIA HISTORY IN PICTURES

- 277 F. N. BONEY *A British "Grand Tour" of Crackerland: Basil and Margaret Hall View Frontier Georgia in 1828*

- 293 BOOK REVIEWS

- 358 BOOK NOTES

- 363 COMMUNICATIONS

- 372 NEWS AND NOTICES

BOOK REVIEWS

SPALDING and JACKSON, eds., <i>Oglethorpe in Perspective</i> , by Carole Watterson Troxler	293
GREENE, <i>Pursuits of Happiness</i> , by Marc Egnal	295
HAWES, <i>The Journal of the Reverend John Joachim Zubly</i> , by Frances Harrold	297
MERRELL, <i>The Indians' New World</i> , by Charles Hudson	298
ROUNTREE, <i>The Powhatan Indians of Virginia</i> , by Nancy L. Hagedorn	300
GALLAY, <i>The Formation of a Planter Elite</i> , by John D. W. Guice	302
PAISLEY, <i>The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865</i> , by Amy Turner Bushnell	304
COCLANIS, <i>The Shadow of a Dream</i> , by John T. Schlotterbeck	305
HOFFMAN and ALBERT, eds., <i>Women in the Age of the American Revolution</i> , by Jeffrey J. Crow	308
EGERTON, <i>Charles Fenton Mercer and the Trial of National Conservatism</i> , by Major L. Wilson	310
CLARK and GUICE, <i>Frontiers in Conflict</i> , by Daniel Dupre	311
POLK, ed., <i>Natchez Before 1830</i> , by Wilbur E. Meneray	313
KOLCHIN, <i>Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom</i> , by Randall Miller	315
NUMBERS and SAVITT, eds., <i>Science and Medicine in the Old South</i> , by Eric H. Christianson	318
JEFFREY, <i>State Parties and National Politics</i> , by Norman D. Brown	320
MITCHELL, <i>Civil War Soldiers</i> , by Randall C. Jimerson	322
ROZIER, ed., <i>The Granite Farm Letters</i> , by Catherine Clinton	324
GALLAGHER, ed., <i>Fighting for the Confederacy</i> , by Donald E. Reynolds	326
GALLAGHER, ed., <i>Antietam</i> , by William Garrett Piston	328
GLATTHAAR, <i>Forged in Battle</i> , by Reid Mitchell	330
DANIEL, <i>Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy</i> , by Ronald G. Lee	332
FITZGERALD, <i>The Union League Movement in the New South</i> , by Sara Woolfolk Wiggins	334
EVANS, <i>Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America</i> , by Joan R. Gundersen	335
LITTLE and VAUGHAN, eds., <i>A New Perspective: Southern Women's Cultural History from the Civil War to Civil Rights</i> , by Elizabeth H. Turner	337
WOOD and BLETHEN, <i>A Mountain Heritage</i> , by John M. Glen	339
YOUNG, <i>Pure Food</i> , by Lewis L. Gould	341
MARKS, <i>Farewell—We're Good and Gone</i> and GROSSMAN, <i>Land of Hope</i> , by Judith Stein	343
TULLOS, <i>Habits of Industry</i> , by Thomas E. Terrill	346
BAUMAN and COODE, <i>In the Eye of the Great Depression</i> , by Robert E. Snyder	348
WEISBROT, <i>Freedom Bound</i> , by Adam Fairclough	350
BULLARD, ed., <i>In Search of the New South</i> , by Arnold R. Hirsch	352
FRANKLIN, <i>Back to Birmingham</i> , by Robert J. Norrell	353
WOODWARD, <i>The Future of the Past</i> , by Bertram Wyatt-Brown	355

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Cotton Money: Antebellum Currency Conditions in the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley

BY LYNN WILLOUGHBY WARE

IN the Land of Cotton, rivers were the superhighways alongside which antebellum cotton farmers settled to take advantage of both the rich soils and the natural transportation route to market. Cotton was the essence of the Lower South's economy, since most businessmen, rural or urban, made their living in some way related to it. Every cotton port owed its significance to the waterway that flowed from its hinterland, conveying boatload after boatload of this, the nation's foremost export. A society based on cotton emerged in each of the valleys of the major river systems. Since communication between the water networks was extremely difficult given the state of overland transportation, it was natural that the major river economies each developed distinct characteristics.

In the era before railroads altered the direction of commerce, businessmen adapted national commercial customs to meet the idiosyncrasies of their particular waterway. Watercraft were designed by locals to meet local conditions and specifications. Indeed, the length of the commercial season itself depended entirely on the water level of the rivers. Prior to the forging of a national monetary system, even the currency conditions of each river system were peculiar to it.

These separate economies of the antebellum South developed at different rates. Larry Schweikart categorized the southern states according to their economic history as being either "Old South" or "New South," labels that have no relationship to their traditional meanings. His Old South states included Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana, states with a longer history of commercial activity that enabled them

MS. WARE is assistant professor of history at Winthrop College.

to develop banking regulations that tended to foster commercial growth. Schweikart described the New South as being comprised of Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee, where “vigorous commercial histories” were lacking, and the state governments meddled in commercial policy to their own detriment.¹

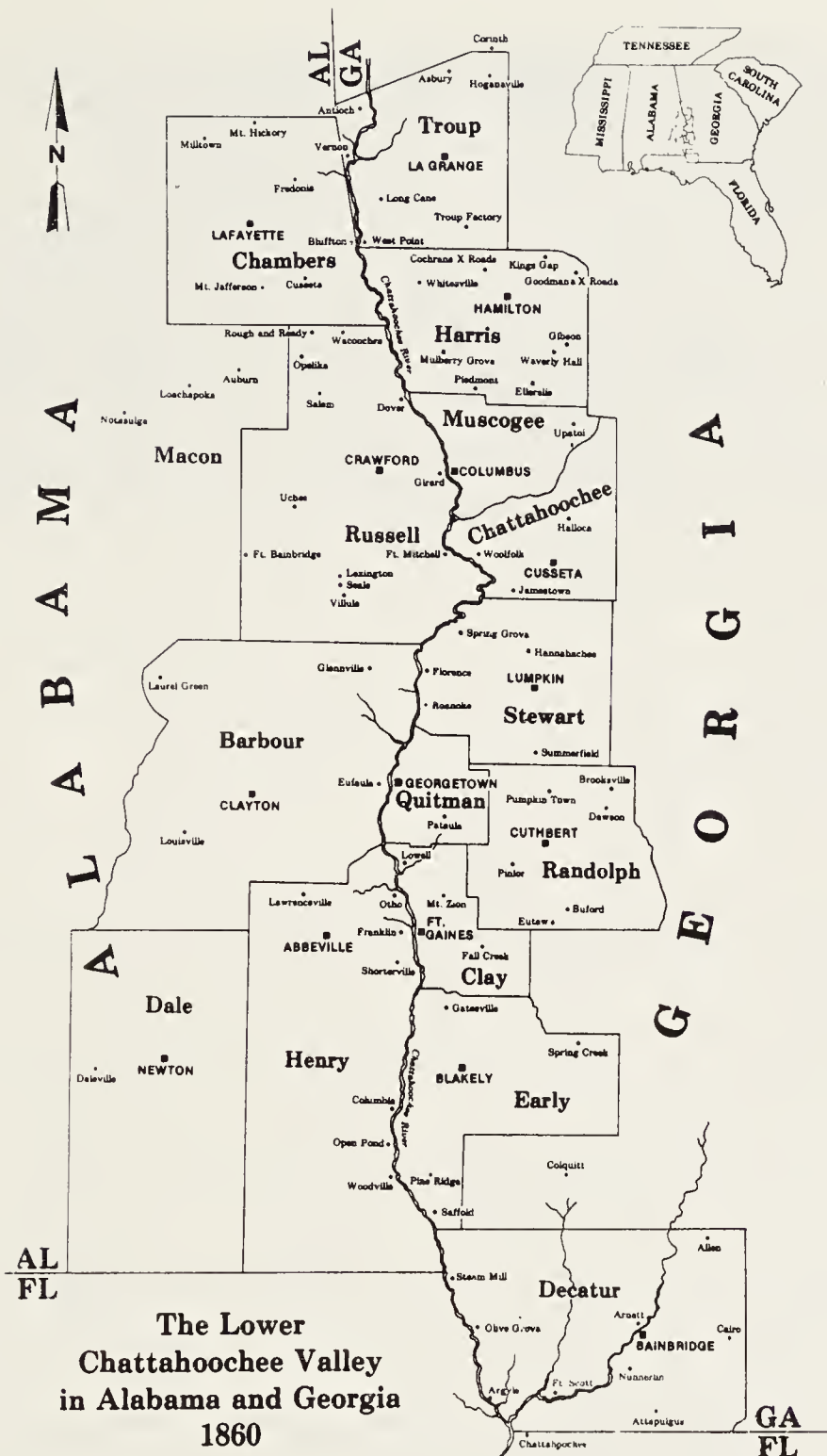
Situated between Schweikart’s Old and New Souths was the cotton economy of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley. This waterway originates in Georgia as the Chattahoochee River and eventually serves as the boundary line between that state and Alabama. It then continues its meanderings through the cotton fields of north Florida where it is known as the Apalachicola to the port of the same name, where it empties into the Gulf of Mexico.

Banking policy and regulation within the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley differed from state to state, and these uneven conditions profoundly effected the character of the currency within the valley. Even though they mirrored in many ways the economic environment of other frontier economies, these circumstances made this monetary situation unique.

The port of Apalachicola, Florida, exported its first bale of cotton in 1822. Thus began a golden era for the port which came to thrive on the staple that was cultivated in the extensive river valley to its north. The valley was a raw frontier and would remain so for at least twenty years. Florida did not become a United States possession until 1821 and gained statehood only in 1845. As late as 1840 the valley’s native inhabitants were still fighting to retain their birthplace, and there were outbreaks of violence between whites and Indians until the latter were finally expelled in the 1840s. The town of Apalachicola was incorporated in 1829. By 1836 it exported fifty thousand bales of cotton and had become the third largest cotton port on the Gulf of Mexico after New Orleans and Mobile.²

¹Larry Schweikart, *Banking in the American South from the Age of Jackson to Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, 1987), 5-6.

²*Apalachicola Gazette*, January 29, and April 4, 1840. The January edition reported Indians had killed one white family on their homestead upriver from the port. The same week Apalachicolans learned of an upriver skirmish between U.S. troops and Indians. *Commercial Advertiser Price-Current*, May 19, 1853.



Source: Ray Mathis, *In the Land of the Living: Wartime Letters by Confederates from the Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia* (Troy, Ala., 1981), reproduced courtesy of the Historic Chattahoochee Commission.

Apalachicola was not the only cotton market on the river. At the head of navigation of the Chattahoochee lay Columbus, Georgia. It had been laid out by whites in 1827 as a trading center near a former Creek Indian trading site. Throughout the next decade and a half Columbus remained a rough frontier town, separated from Indian territory only by the river. Yet despite its origins, Columbus soon became one of the major commercial centers of Georgia. During the fall and winter months wagon after wagon loaded with cotton passed down the crude roads that stretched out from the city in all directions. By 1845 it had a population of almost five thousand with two hundred businesses, including fifty-seven mercantile operations and five cotton warehouses.³ Though primarily a cotton and provisions marketing center, Columbus was more diversified than its sibling city on the gulf. By 1849 five textile factories used the water power provided by Columbus's breathtaking waterfalls to spin local cotton into yarn and shirting. By 1860 Columbus had a population of nine thousand, and it was second only to Richmond in textile production.⁴

The cotton marketing centers of Columbus and Apalachicola owed their prosperity to the hinterland lying between them. The triangle of land between the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers in Georgia and the Chipola and Apalachicola rivers in Florida was prime cotton land, and the area was settled rapidly. By 1850 the entire river valley was home to 185,000 people, and the region had shed its frontier status.⁵ As the population increased, lesser trading towns sprouted along the river system. Albany, Georgia, at the head of navigation of the Flint River, was an important trade center for the forwarding of cotton to the gulf by barges as well as for the ancillary grocery trade. Eufaula, Alabama, located about forty-five miles below Columbus on the Chattahoochee, was another significant regional cotton market, as was Marianna, Florida, at the head

³Lynn Willoughby Ware, "The Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley, 1840-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1989), 236.

⁴George White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (1849, repr., Spartanburg, S.C., 1972), 446-48. John H. Martin, comp., *Columbus, Geo. From Its Selection as a "Trading Town" in 1827 to its Partial Destruction by Wilson's Raid in 1865* (1874, repr., n.p., 1972), 2: 119; John Lupold, *Columbus, Georgia, 1828-1928* (Columbus, 1978), 23.

⁵Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1966), 243.



Within a decade and a half, the cotton economy had transformed Columbus from this frontier settlement (above) to a thriving city of five thousand residents. *Later copy of 1828 Basil Hall sketch of Columbus, courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.*

of navigation of the Chipola River. Scores of minor markets were situated all along the banks of the river wherever enterprising merchants established warehouses and steamboat landings.⁶

Most of the valley's residents made their living, directly or indirectly, from cotton. Planters left the marketing of the crop to others, who made their living executing the various specialized tasks necessary in moving the cotton from field to mill. The most important of all the middle men was the cotton factor or commission merchant who marketed the cotton and arranged financing for the planter during the growing season until the proceeds from the sale of the crop repaid the loan.⁷ Factors dealt almost exclusively with planters and were, for the most part, located in Columbus and Apalachicola. Between the

⁶In Georgia there were markets at Fort Gaines, on the Chattahoochee, and Bainbridge, on the lower Flint, but almost every boat landing had a warehouse and resident entrepreneur. See Joel W. Perry, comp., *Some Pioneer History of Early County* (n.p., repr., 1968), 26-31. There were twenty-five landings on the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee rivers between Apalachicola and Columbus. See *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 8, 1844, 4.

⁷Technically these terms connote two different occupations. The factor was the agent employed to sell the planter's cotton; the commission merchant purchased the grower's supplies for a fee. In practice the grower's cotton factor was often his commission merchant as well, purchasing the necessary supplies for the planter that were paid for when the factor sold the cotton crop.

major marketing centers, general storekeepers catered to the smaller cotton growers in a similar capacity. These businessmen offered dry goods and equipment to the farmers who paid for these necessities with cotton at the end of the growing season. The country storekeeper, in turn, marketed the cotton he accumulated in his warehouse through the larger factors in Apalachicola and Columbus.⁸

Naturally, all the various businessmen of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley watched the cotton market attentively, but there were other variables they also had to monitor. The antebellum era was one of wild economic mood swings. The booming 1830s, fueled by cheap land prices and rising cotton profits, were followed abruptly by a major depression in 1837 when cotton prices fell precipitously and continued downward through 1842. Money that had formerly flowed into the South to pay for cotton no longer compensated for southern debts in the North. The valley's cotton merchants and growers found themselves ensnared by a depreciating currency with which to repay their increasing indebtedness.

All over the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley men were embarrassed at not being able to repay their loans. A well-to-do Columbus man wrote in 1841 that "the few who have any credit can only return it by not attempting to use it." His friends were "in the fashionable language of the day . . . 'used up.' . . . They may recover but for my life I can't see how." He learned that things were just as bad on the Alabama side of the river where the people of Henry County formally asked the sheriff to resign because he had auctioned off farms to meet creditor demands. A year later a Marianna, Florida, man declared, "Certainly . . . there never was such a time of suffering for the want of money as now exists."⁹ Those businessmen who weathered this great depression faced a new set of conditions in the last fifteen years of the antebellum period. The late

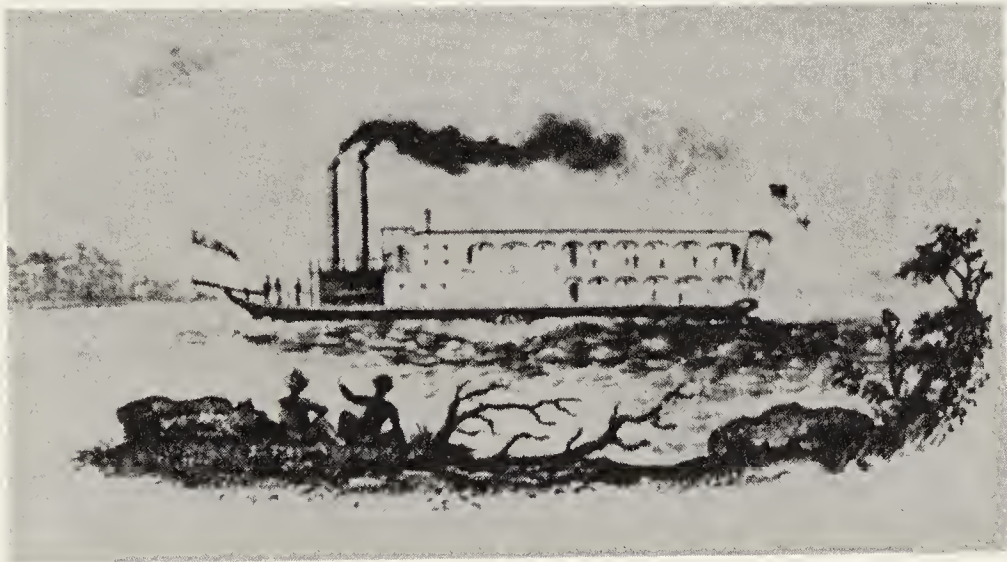
⁸For more detail on the functions of the country storekeeper, see Lewis Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860* (1949, repr., New York, 1968), 12-14. Another useful source is Harold Woodman, *King Cotton's Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925* (Lexington, 1968), *passim*.

⁹Hines Holt to Farish Carter, March 28, 1841 (first quotation); Richard H. Long to Carter, May 7, 1842, Farish Carter Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (hereinafter cited as SHC).

1840s and 1850s were again a time of phenomenal growth in which cotton prices rebounded and continued to rise. Only the brief Panic of 1857 disturbed the valley's prosperity in this last decade before the war.

Juxtaposed against this wildly fluctuating national economy was an equally volatile media of exchange. By modern standards, the monetary conditions of the nation during the antebellum period were deplorable, and because of them, normal business transactions were complicated and cumbersome. In the absence of a uniform currency provided by the federal government, every local economy had a distinctive currency which originated from scores of businessmen who held disparate assets—and consciences.

The Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley, isolated from other economies by the nearly impenetrable forest and bound to the river that represented its primary commercial artery, developed into a separate economy based on cotton with a distinctive circulating medium. This local currency consisted of a variegated assortment of mostly paper bills supplemented by a few foreign and native coins. The money was so uneven in quality that it could not fail to impact commerce.



This idyllic version of a steamboat plying the waters of the Chattahoochee was printed on an 1835 five dollar note of the Commercial Bank of Florida at Appalachicola. *Reproduced from Daniel G. Cassidy, The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money (Jacksonville, 1980).*

American coins were a motley lot. They were not uniform in appearance because the federal government permitted private agencies, as well as its own mints, to coin gold. American coins were only a small part of the specie in circulation in this country; they were, in fact, not even the predominant coins. Since the sixteenth century the primary coin in America was the Spanish peso, also known as the piece-of-eight, or most commonly called in America, the Spanish dollar. From mints in Mexico and Peru it found its way into the South primarily by way of the West Indies. The Spanish dollar consisted of eight *reales*. Its fractional coins were the four-real piece (equal to the half-dollar), the double real (worth a quarter-dollar), the real (worth twelve and one-half cents), the half real or medio, and the quarter real.¹⁰ Mingled with the Spanish and American coins were English sterling pounds comprised of twenty shillings of twelve pence each. These coins were so intermixed that in routine business transactions Americans had to calculate in three currencies: one decimal; another based on halves, quarters, and eighths; and the third on twelfths and twentieths.

Although Spanish coins were predominant, many other foreign coins circulated as legal tender in the United States in the antebellum period, especially those of France, Scandinavia and the German states. In 1847 the *Merchants' Magazine* published a table showing the current value in American money of the gold and silver coins "in most general circulation" in the country. Of the one hundred varieties of gold and silver coins from the thirty-six countries listed, only nine were native.¹¹ Merchants necessarily kept such tables near at hand to ease their constant task of conversion.

More debilitating than the variety of specie was the shortage of it. According to one estimate, the nation's total circulation in 1830 of all coins below the value of a half-dollar was a crippling twenty-five cents per capita.¹² Columbus, Georgia, shared in this national problem, where a warning about counterfeit coins was supplemented by the comment, "The scarcity of

¹⁰Neil Carothers, *Fractional Money* (1930, repr., New York, 1967), 22, 25-26.

¹¹*Merchants' Magazine* 17 (July-December 1847): 429.

¹²Carothers, *Fractional Money*, 77-78.

money in this region renders us comparatively secure against this spurious currency, but still some old miser who now and then gathers a silver dollar may be imposed upon.”¹³

During the financial disturbances following 1837 and 1857 when banks withheld all coins, conditions were even worse, and there was an acute shortage of specie. Any business that required small change was compelled to buy what coins it could find from a broker at a premium. Given the state of the nation's currency, businessmen were forced to take matters into their own hands. Individuals, municipalities, businesses, and banks issued “change bills” in the amount of one dollar and less. Denominations commonly ran as small as 6¼¢ (which corresponded to the Spanish *medio*). These printed slips usually promised to pay the bearer the equivalent of the face value in specie (coins) or bank notes when they were presented to the originator. The many forms of change bills (all worth a dollar or less) were known by the pejorative term, “shinplasters,” which was purported to have originated during the American Revolutionary War when a soldier used the worthless Continental currency to bandage his wounded leg.¹⁴

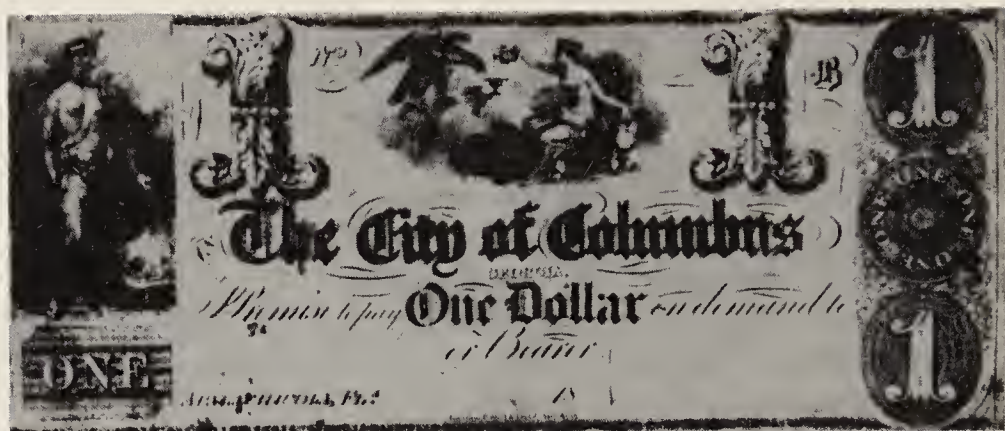
Merchants or bankers offered these change bills as change to their customers who tendered them to other storekeepers in payment of their debts. The latter had little choice but to accept them and pass them along as change to their customers.¹⁵ Therefore, by trading his pieces of paper for something of actual value the man who initiated the change bill had the use of another's money free of charge. Furthermore, the originator would never have to repay a certain percentage of this amount since few people bothered to redeem a bill for 6¼¢ or the like, and many were lost or destroyed in the process of circulating.

During the financial spasm following the Panic of 1837, the valley of the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola River was awash in

¹³*Columbus Enquirer*, June 22, 1849.

¹⁴Carothers, *Fractional Money*, 95. Brokers were selling new gold coins at 8 percent premium in 1849. See A. Ritchie to H. B. Murdock, May 18, 1849, Murdock and Wright Family Papers, SHC. William Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors* (New York, 1949), 66.

¹⁵On April 1, 1846, the *Columbus Times* reported that responsible merchants were accepting change bills from their customers, but, instead of paying them out, they were taking them back to the originator for redemption.



The wide variety of notes, such as this one dollar note from the City of Columbus, Georgia, illustrates the cumbersome and chaotic nature of the banking practices in the Appalachian/Chattahoochee River valley. *Reproduced from Cassidy, Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money.*

these slips of paper that were only as good as the man who issued them. In 1841, John D. Howell, a Columbus dry goods merchant and part-time cotton dealer, advertised that he would “receive in payment for his Goods all Change-Bills that he consider[ed] to be good.” A year later he announced that he would redeem his own change bills in “Specie or Specie Funds.” By 1843 the shortage of change had lessened and Howell announced he wished “to retire his Change Bills from circulation—there being now a sufficient amount of specie to answer the purposes of trade.”¹⁶ Other cotton merchants had retired their change bills the previous year, but as late as 1848 the Columbus grand jury complained about the nuisance of so many of them.¹⁷ Change bills represented only a portion of the nation’s currency, and cotton merchants required larger denominations of money more often than those representing less than a dollar’s value. Since the federal government did not print any paper currency, most of the country’s larger bills were issued by state banks.

Because the river passed through three different states, each with its own set of banking regulations, an examination

¹⁶*Ibid.*, November 25, 1841; *Columbus Enquirer*, December 14, 1842, and August 2, 1843.

¹⁷*Columbus Enquirer*, September 28, 1842; Martin, *Columbus, Geo.* 2: 13.

of the valley's banking conditions is complicated threefold. The "New South" states of Alabama and Florida had similar banking histories. In both cases, the early experiences with state banks prior to the 1837 depression were so unsuccessful that both state legislatures virtually banned native banks. This left Apalachicola in the ludicrous condition of being the largest commercial center in Florida with no currency of its own. During most of the period between the depression and the Civil War, the businessmen of the Florida port as well as the entrepreneurs on the Alabama side of the river depended on Georgia bank notes for their currency, but these banks were not native to Columbus either. All the Columbus banks failed during the depression, and the only bank to establish itself there afterward had failed by 1852. The entire river valley relied on the agencies of banks native to eastern Georgia cities.¹⁸

Bank notes generally commanded more respect from the populace than change bills because they were backed by the tangible (albeit often inadequate) stocks of coins held in reserve in the banks' vaults. During the 1840s and 1850s, Georgia banks were allowed to open for business as soon as their amassed capital reached the amount stipulated in their state charter. Once opened, they were generally unregulated, and the ratio of their paper issue to the actual specie in reserve was in many cases ludicrous. The most conservative banks issued two or three times their ability to repay, but fifteen times was common in the frontier regions of the South and West.¹⁹

Prior to Andrew Jackson's war on the national bank, the First and Second Banks of the United States had worked adequately to restrain the over-issue of bank notes from state banks "by collecting them and sending them home for redemption." Freed from the conservative influence of the national bank in 1836, state banks multiplied swiftly and "showered the country" with their notes. It has been estimated that between 1790 and 1865 sixteen hundred banks in thirty-four states is-

¹⁸Ware, "The Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley," 116, 120-24.

¹⁹Milton Sydney Heath, *Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860*, (Cambridge, 1949), 224.

sued over thirty thousand varieties of bank notes.²⁰ All these notes differed in appearance. The assortment of bank notes in circulation with "no standardization of size or design" boggles the mind of a modern student. There is no present need for advertisements such as the one seen in a Columbus newspaper in 1851 that announced a twenty dollar bill had been found in a certain location. The owner could claim it by describing it.²¹ William Graham Sumner articulated well their heterogeneity: "The bank notes were bits of paper recognizable as a specie by shape, color, size and engraved work. Any piece of paper which had these came within the prestige of money; the only thing in the shape of money to which the people were accustomed."²²

The variety of the bank notes circulating in the Chatahoochee/Apalachicola River region certainly fit this description. Although they were more uniform in size than change bills, their likeness ended there. Each bank designed its own notes that were embellished with engravings of gods and goddesses, sailing ships and steamboats.²³

With so many different kinds of bills in use in the valley, many crudely engraved, it was especially easy to alter or forge the genuine ones. Newspapers in both Columbus and Albany warned their readers of a gang of men in Columbus who were passing the counterfeited notes of two South Carolina banks. These notes had been printed by the thieves and bore little resemblance to the genuine article. There were other means of deception. Often the notes of failed banks were stolen, their names obliterated and the name of a reputable bank printed in its place. The counterfeiters disregarded the symbolism of the remaining engraved vignettes. In this way the supposed note of a Massachusetts bank came to have engravings of a cotton plant, Andrew Jackson, and the Georgia state coat of

²⁰Horace White, *Money and Banking* (Boston, 1936), 157; William Erwin, "Good Paper Money, Nothing Else Will Do," *Duke University Newsletter* 31 (October 1983), 20.

²¹Paul B. Trescott, *Financing American Enterprise: The Story of Commercial Banking* (New York, 1963), 21. *Columbus Enquirer*, April 22, 1851.

²²A. Barton Hepburn, *History of Currency in the United States* (1903, repr., New York, 1967), 165.

²³Daniel G. Cassidy, *The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money* (Jacksonville, 1980), 26-35; Harley L. Freeman, *Florida Obsolete Notes and Scrip* (n.p., 1967), 3-10.

arms. The Southern Bank of Bainbridge, Georgia, had actually originated the note.²⁴

The bank notes of John Winter's Bank of St. Mary's (Columbus's only native post-depression bank) also fell victim to fraud. One rogue took a genuine five dollar bill which had its value engraved across each end of the bill and altered it. He pasted over the "five" with the word "twenty" cut from a twenty dollar bill of a broken Florida bank. This created a common type of counterfeit bill known as a "raised note."²⁵ Before taking the bill of an unfamiliar bank, the merchant scrutinized it for authenticity. He held it up to the light to look for the holes made by the thin pins on which bankers filed their notes. If there were many holes it might indicate that it had been in circulation for some time and was probably good. Next he consulted his "bank note reporter and counterfeit detector" which listed hundreds of bank notes, the rate of discount for "uncurrent" notes (those trading below par), and a description of the known counterfeit notes of each bank. Of course even these manuals could not be trusted when it came to the worth of a bank note because some publications were notorious for disinformation.²⁶ If the merchant was still unsure, he might either refuse it or accept it anyway at a discount with the intention of passing it off on one of his customers as change.

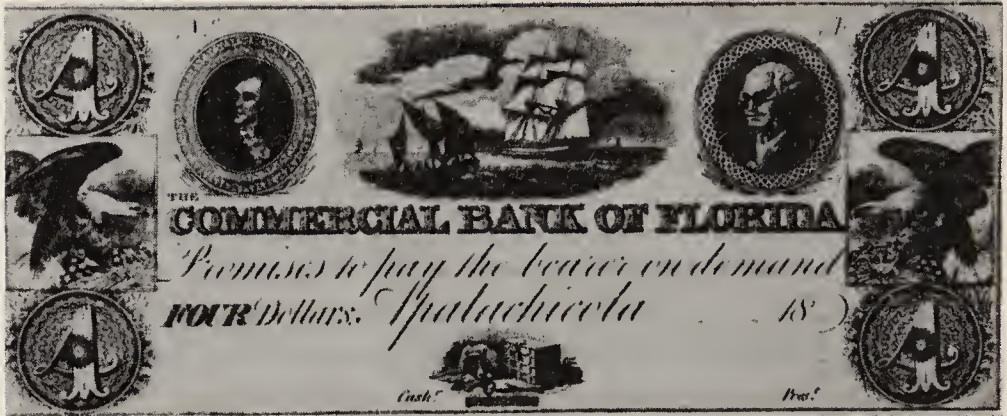
Every banker understood that the longer he could keep his notes in circulation without being redeemed in specie the more credit he created for his business at no interest. Therefore bankers devised ways of evading redemption. The obvious method was to put one's notes in circulation as far away from his place of business as possible. Bankers often employed an agent known as a "carpetbagger" to do this for them.²⁷ "[N]early

²⁴*Columbus Enquirer*, February 5, 1850; *Albany Patriot*, February 22, 1850. Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 19.

²⁵*Columbus Times*, May 6, 1846. Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 16.

²⁶Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 41. *Bicknell's Counterfeit Detector and Bank Note List* of January 1839, listed "1395 descriptions of counterfeited and altered notes then supposed to be in circulation. . . ." See George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York, 1951), 326. The manuals could either "puff" a bank which meant to claim that it was sound when it was not, or they might receive hush money not to "blow" a bank, or relate its worthlessness. Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 47-50.

²⁷Trescott, *Financing American Enterprise*, 21. This original use of the term "carpetbagger" predates the Reconstruction period. Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 63; *The American Banker*, June 21, 1899, 1095.



The elaborate artwork, such as that found on this four dollar note of the Commercial Bank of Florida at Apalachicola, was designed to render counterfeiting more difficult. *Reproduced from Cassidy, Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money.*

every specie basis bank had its carpetbagger—a fellow it sent with notes by the carpet-bag full into some distant State to get them into circulation there.” Often a carpetbagger arranged with the banker of a distant town to swap notes. Since each set was redeemable only at the place of issue hundreds of miles away, it was improbable that persons who acquired the bills would ever go to the trouble of claiming their specie. For this reason it was said, “Illinois was flooded with Georgia notes.”²⁸

To compound profits after a banker had given out all of another’s notes, he could refuse to receive them from customers who were told to go to the local broker or “money shaver” to sell them. The latter would buy them only at a discount. Then, it was commonly believed, the broker and the banker would divide the profit.²⁹ Few bankers were so unscrupulous, but even the most reputable ones scattered their notes as far away from them as they could. An agent for the cotton commission business of J. Day and Company of Apalachicola wrote from Georgia that he was leaving one thousand dollars with a colleague there because he had “promised to give the Bank bills circulation & he [an associate] can change them off.”³⁰ A

²⁸Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 63 (first quotation); Trescott, *Financing American Enterprise*, 21.

²⁹Trescott, *Financing American Enterprise*, 64.

³⁰Letter to J. Day and Company, October 5, 1849, Miscellaneous Southern Business Letters, SHC. It was not apparent from the letter where the bank bills originated, but the agent had just come from the North.

really irresponsible bank might also issue “post notes” which resembled standard bank notes except the bank promised to redeem them at some future date, ranging from three to twelve months. The Commercial Bank of Florida in Apalachicola floated these in denominations of five and ten dollars.³¹

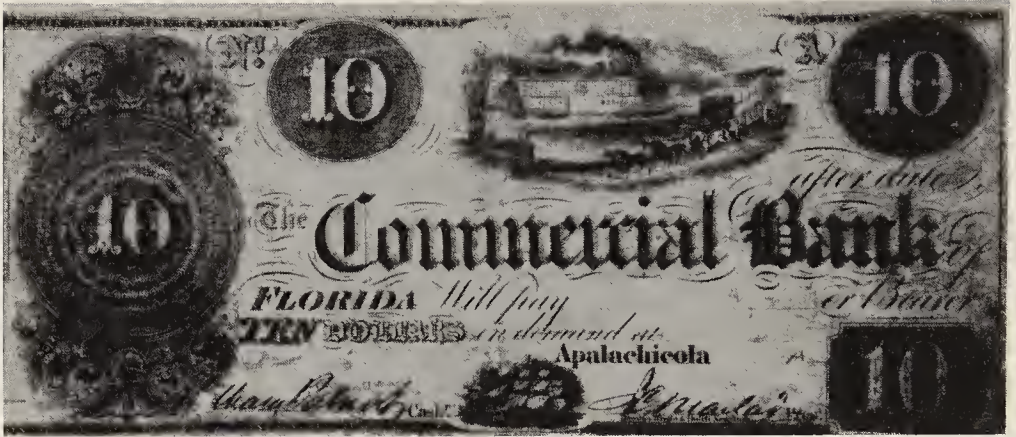
The antebellum businessman was necessarily a student of currency. Notes of a bank known to be over-extended were worth less than their face value by a percentage determined only by the whims of an ever-changing market. During the depression that followed the Panic of 1837, all Florida banks failed and those still doing business in the rest of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley suspended specie payments. This caused the value of their notes to fall relative to the more solvent banks. Any person whose business involved the acceptance of bank notes carefully monitored the going rates of the currency by reading the bank note tables published weekly in Columbus and Apalachicola.

When the value of the valley’s money fell, all classes of the economy were hurt. Merchants were injured because their expenses and risks were increased. The planter, at the bottom of the credit chain as debtor, bore the ultimate loss since it took more money to repay a debt than he originally borrowed. When specie redemption was suspended by local banks in times of financial crisis, both the Florida merchants and their upriver customers suffered greatly. In 1841 at the nadir of the depression, the Apalachicola commission merchants were losing so much money by the rapid deflation of their currency they became desperate.

We have seen the notes of the Columbus Banks, which form our entire currency depreciate 15 or 20 per cent in less than sixty days. It is obvious that the merchant . . . cannot long continue business under such a system without ruin; the nature of every contract is changed and his whole property and business at the mercy of bankrupt and irresponsible corporations.³²

³¹Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 326; Dilliston, *Bank Note Reporters*, 69; Cassidy, *Florida Paper Money*, 32.

³²*Columbus Times*, June 24, 1841.



This ten dollar note drawn on the Commercial Bank of Florida contains numerous symbols of trade, most of them associated with water transportation. *Reproduced from Cassidy, Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money.*

The Floridians formally resolved to make all transactions on a specie basis; that is, to accept depreciated notes at their specie value only. They urged the other merchants and planters up-river to do likewise. Columbus merchants made the same vow the following year, but there is no record of whether either group was successful.³³

In August 1843, notes of Georgia's Central Rail Road and Banking Company were trading in Apalachicola at a 20 percent discount, those of the Central Bank of Georgia for 35 percent off, and the notes of the state bank of Alabama were worth 30 percent less than their nominal value. At approximately the same time in Columbus, the notes of all three of these banks were valued at only 10-13 percent less than par value. This variance within the valley created complications for Apalachicola factors because the same money that was relatively worthless in Florida was preferred by the farmers of Georgia and Alabama. The Apalachicola factors knew if they did not pay the farmers in the money current in Georgia, they would lose their share of the cotton trade to those who would. For that reason William G. Porter and Company of Apalachicola

³³*Columbus Enquirer*, August 3, 1842.

advertised they would make their advances on cotton in "Georgia money."³⁴

Cotton merchants who lived on the river between the two cities were caught between two different rates. The frustration felt by J. W. Sutlive, a commission and forwarding merchant at Fort Gaines, Georgia, midway between Columbus and Apalachicola, is evident by his announcement in the Apalachicola newspaper:

Managers of Steamboats on the Chattahoochee River, are desired to take notice, that any freight consigned to me, at Fort Gaines, will be paid in any money that is received at this place at par, without respect to its value in Columbus. Those boatmasters who will not accede to this, will not receive freight consigned to me, as I will not obligate to pay (what they call) bankable funds.³⁵

The uneven state of the valley's currency at times strained the relations between cotton merchants and farmers. A merchant of Barbour County, Alabama, complained loudly that businessmen were being taken when farmers sold their cotton for high prices in depreciated currency, and then expected local storeowners to accept the money at par value.³⁶ Not only did merchants of the river valley have to contend with the ephemeral value of their local currency, but they also had to deal with exchange rates outside their economic sphere. Bank notes current in this region were not necessarily bankable in another. Just as travelers in Europe today must exchange their currency when moving from one country to another, so did antebellum businessmen who traded outside their economic region.

The Columbus or Apalachicola commission merchant buying goods in the North had to purchase them in money current there. Consequently if he bought New York goods he had to

³⁴*Apalachicola Watchman of the Gulf*, August 12, 1843; *Columbus Enquirer*, October 11, 1843. Memorial from the citizens of Apalachicola, dated December 9, 1848, reprinted in Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 169; *Apalachicolian*, December 26, 1840.

³⁵*Apalachicolian*, December 26, 1840.

³⁶Atherton, *Southern Country Store*, 179.

In the absence of a readily available currency, cotton growers and merchants alike made great use of promissory notes and "bills of exchange." The latter were written orders to one person to pay a third person a specified sum at a certain time and place. By using a bill of exchange, a businessman owing money to one man could have the debt paid by someone who was indebted to him. One sideline of the cotton factorage business was the practice of accepting bills of exchange written by associated planters for which the factor received a commission.

With all the complications associated with antebellum currency conditions it is no wonder that businessmen spent most of their workday keeping their ledgers. Very little money actually changed hands between a commission merchant and his clients. Instead, the merchant kept a running account of debits and credits that was usually settled only once a year, at the end of the cotton season. The same was true of the general storekeeper and his farmer customers.

The currency conditions of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River valley differed little from those of other developing regions of the antebellum South. The region was not monolithic in its economic growth stage. Conditions existing in the cotton economies of the Alabama River system to the west, whose seaport was Mobile, or the Savannah River system on the Atlantic Ocean to the east did not necessarily correspond to the younger Apalachicola/Chattahoochee economy. Nevertheless, antebellum businessmen adapted to the particular monetary problems they encountered and, given the challenges they faced, they were remarkably successful.

³⁷See exchange tables published in the *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, *passim*.

The Darien "Insurrection" of 1899: Black Protest During the Nadir of Race Relations

BY W. FITZHUGH BRUNDAGE

When the murderer comes, he shall no longer strike us in the back. When the armed lynchers gather, we too must gather armed. When the mob moves, we must propose to meet it with bricks and clubs and guns. . . .

—W.E.B. DuBois, 1919

EMBITTERED and sapped of patience by the murderous violence of whites against blacks during the summer of 1919, W.E.B. DuBois called for African-Americans to take up "the terrible weapon of Self-Defense."¹ What DuBois implored with characteristic passion was not new; for decades prominent black leaders had beseeched blacks to answer white violence blow for blow.² Because the toll of mob executions was so great in the South, and blacks were so vulnerable to lynch mobs, it is tempting to assume that the notion of black self-defense against mobs only circulated among militant blacks secure in the relative safety of the North while southern blacks responded to lynchings with apathy and resignation.

In 1899, in an event that became known as the "Darien Insurrection," blacks in McIntosh County, Georgia, dramatically demonstrated that they would boldly challenge whites and protect a fellow black from any lynch mob. That this defiant stand by blacks has attracted no recent scholarly interest may be explained by the tendency of historians to focus either on case studies of individual lynchings or on the history of national

¹W.E.B. DuBois, "Opinion," *Crisis* 18 (September 1919): 231. The author would like to thank William F. Holmes, George A. Rawlyk, and Mart Stewart for their comments and suggestions on this article.

²Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas and proposals by black leaders for responses to white violence are discussed in Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst, Mass., 1988), 30-119.

MR. BRUNDAGE is assistant professor of history at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
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antilynching organizations. Very little is currently known about the actual response of southern black communities to threatened or accomplished lynchings. And until more is known, our understanding of the gruesome practice of lynching in the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century South will remain incomplete.

Prevented lynchings no less than accomplished lynchings may be powerful lenses through which the origins and unfolding of mob violence become intelligible and vivid. What southern blacks did when confronted by whites intent on mob violence is not easy to ascertain. Much can only be inferred from vague episodes. Most of what is known must come from the records and newspapers of whites, all of which were suffused with the slogans and images of white racism. But unlike many instances of threatened or actual mob violence in which the images of African-Americans are distorted or incomplete, the events in McIntosh County in 1899 reveal a portrait of a black community that rose up against rather than submit to the threat of white violence.

A careful examination of lynching in the South uncovers black responses to lynchings that were both complex and diverse, ranging from sullen resentment to vigorous, even violent opposition, as occurred in McIntosh County. Certain patterns of black response are discernable; the greater the degree of black economic autonomy and political mobilization, the greater the likelihood of forthright black protest against white violence. A failure to recognize the complexity and diversity of black responses to threatened or actual aggression not only leads to an incomplete understanding of lynching, but also ignores the creativity of southern blacks in the face of white violence.

The atmosphere of race relations in Georgia during 1899 can hardly be described as auspicious for any gesture of defiance by blacks. Georgia, a state already shamed by a record of 138 lynchings between 1880 and 1898, was convulsed by racial violence during the spring and summer of 1899. The frenzied two-week long search for Sam Holt, a black man who allegedly had committed rape and murder, set the tone for the rest of the year. Newspapers carried daily accounts of the

search, of alleged sightings of the fugitive, and of numerous shocking crimes supposedly committed by Holt in all corners of the state. When a huge mob tortured, mutilated, and burned Holt to death in Coweta County, banner headlines and gruesome illustrations blazoned the news throughout the state.³

Between May and November, mobs in Georgia executed nineteen blacks, frequently with blood-curdling savagery. On at least ten other occasions mobs attempted to lynch blacks but were prevented by either the interference of state militia or the successful removal of the alleged criminal to a secure jail. Also terrorist groups of whites, known as whitecappers, and other whites intent on punishing a variety of alleged minor offenses whipped blacks throughout the state. For many whites, the bloodshed confirmed their fears that a steady deterioration in the state's race relations had reached a crisis, and most believed that black behavior lay at the heart of the crisis. For blacks, the butchery provoked understandable fear, frustration and outrage. In light of the pervasive violence against blacks and the unusual level of suspicion and fear present on both sides of the caste line, the events that took place in McIntosh County in August 1899 take on added significance.⁴

Located on the Georgia coast roughly midway between Savannah and Brunswick, bordered to the south by the torpid Altamaha River, and pierced by countless tidal estuaries and salt marshes, McIntosh County bore the marks of over two centuries of white and black settlement. Before the Civil War white planters, with armies of black slaves, had carved out vast, lucrative rice and cotton plantations in the county. After the war the combined effects of the abolition of slavery and stiff economic competition from other regions in the South drove many of the county's plantations into decline. Increasingly, the

³The Holt lynching can be traced in the *Atlanta Constitution*, April 13-26, 1899; *Atlanta Journal*, April 13-25, 1899; *Macon Telegraph*, April 13-26, 1899; *New York Age*, June 22, 1899; *Richmond Planet*, October 14, 1899; and Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching From A Negro's Point of View," *North American Review* 178 (June 1904): 859-60. For a brief secondary account of the lynching see Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York, 1984), 205-206.

⁴The agitated state of race relations during 1899 is vividly conveyed in newspaper editorials. For examples, see *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, April 25, 1899; *Valdosta Times*, April 29, 1899; *Atlanta Constitution*, June 8, 1899; *Blakely Early County News*, July 27, 1899; *Bainbridge Democrat*, August 3, 1899.



The lumber industry played a significant role in the economics of McIntosh County and allowed blacks a greater degree of economic autonomy than was true elsewhere. *Photograph courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.*

lumber and naval stores industries dominated the economy of the county in general, and of Darien, the county seat, in particular. However much the foundation of the economy may have changed, the complexion of the county's population remained predominantly black; African-Americans comprised over 80 percent of the population.⁵

The origins of the troubles in McIntosh County in August 1899 are murky. In July, Matilda Ann Hope, a young white married woman who lived several miles north of Darien, gave birth to a black child. Soon thereafter, she made out an affidavit claiming that Henry Delegele, a black neighbor, had raped her sometime during the previous winter. When the black man learned of the charges, he promptly surrendered to the county

⁵The literature on coastal Georgia is extensive. Among the important works are: Thomas F. Armstrong, "From Task Labor to Free Labor: The Transition Along Georgia's Rice Coast, 1820-1880," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1980):432-47; James M. Clifton, "Twilight Comes to the Rice Kingdom: Postbellum Rice Culture on the South Atlantic Coast," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1978): 146-54; Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Low Country Blacks, 1700 to 1880," *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (October 1982): 564-83; George A. Rogers and R. Frank Saunders, Jr., *Swamp Water and Wire Grass: Historical Sketches of Coastal Georgia* (Macon, Ga., 1984).

sheriff on Monday, August 21. Delegale's caution was well advised given the usual response of whites to alleged assaults by blacks. Even so, the alleged rape victim was not a person of "the best character" and, if white newspapers are to be trusted, most whites thought the charges were trumped up solely to protect her reputation.⁶

The incarceration of Delegale attracted little attention until the following day, August 22, when the sheriff of McIntosh County, Thomas B. Blount, decided to move the black man to Savannah for safekeeping. The sheriff's motives are unclear: he may have believed that an attempt to lynch Delegale would occur and that Savannah offered a safe refuge for the black man, or he may have intended to use the pretext of transporting his prisoner to turn Delegale over to a waiting mob. Whatever the sheriff's intentions, blacks in Darien had little doubt about the probable consequences of his actions. "To the average negro of McIntosh County," the *Savannah Morning News* observed, "'safekeeping' meant death to the accused on a swinging limb somewhere between Darien and Savannah."⁷

A group of blacks in Darien quickly organized themselves and laid plans to protect Delegale. If the details of the organization of the blacks are lacking, evidence of its existence certainly is not. Because Delegale was a man of some prominence locally his sons were able to arouse the interest of large numbers of blacks.⁸ Black sentinels took up positions around the jail to ensure that neither the sheriff nor a mob could remove Delegale without opposition. When an emergency arose, these sentries were to alert the black community by ringing the bell of a nearby black Baptist church. That the defense of Henry Delegale would assume the proportions of a collective protest is indicative of both the rich heritage of community bonds and the degree of economic independence attained by many blacks

⁶*Savannah Press*, August 24, 1899; *Darien Gazette*, August 26, 1899. News accounts fail to clarify if Delegale was the father or simply a convenient scapegoat for some other black man.

⁷*Savannah Morning News*, August 24, 1899. The suspicions of blacks in McIntosh County are supported by the statistics of lynching in Georgia between 1880 and 1930; 118 of the 453 lynching victims during this period were lynched while in transit to jail. See William Fitzhugh Brundage, "Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1988), 123-36.

⁸For a sensational description of Henry Delegale's "hold" on his black neighbors, see the *Atlanta Constitution*, September 2, 1899.

in McIntosh County. The sheriff's attempt to move Delegale galvanized blacks throughout the county. Among the blacks who gathered to protect the jail were rural farmers from nearby Sapelo Island, day laborers, sawmill workers, and domestic servants. Quite literally, the crowd appears to have included black men and women from throughout the county.⁹

The participation of rural blacks in the protest, to a considerable extent, was the legacy of the peculiar form of slavery that flourished along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. The vast slave forces that tended the immense rice and sea island cotton plantations of the region had known a more stable family life, a more intense social and cultural solidarity, and a greater degree of independence than typical of most slaves.¹⁰ With the demise of large-scale plantation agriculture following the Civil War, many blacks acquired small holdings of land and became self-sufficient farmers, raising small crops of foodstuffs while supplementing their diet by hunting and fishing.¹¹ "The

⁹The backgrounds of members of the crowd are very difficult to determine with any certainty. Tax records for the years prior to 1899 are not extant, but the 1900 Census Manuscripts, 1896-1897 Superior Court Voters List, and McIntosh County Deeds, available at the Georgia Department of Archives & History, provide information on twelve of the alleged rioters.

¹⁰Several recent studies have begun to expose the complexities of slavery in coastal Georgia. Especially helpful are Morgan, "Work and Culture," and Mart Stewart, "Land Use and Landscapes: Environment and Social Change in Coastal Georgia, 1680-1880," (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1988). John Scott Strickland's conclusions about the South Carolina Low Country are pertinent to coastal Georgia; see Strickland, "Traditional Culture and Moral Economy: Social and Economic Change in the South Carolina Low Country, 1865-1910," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation*, Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds. (Chapel Hill, 1985), 141-78. Helpful for the postwar years are Thomas F. Armstrong, "The Building of a Black Church: Community in Post Civil War Liberty County, Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 66 (Fall 1982): 346-67; and Armstrong, "From Task Labor to Free Labor."

¹¹A very cogent description of the value that blacks placed upon self-sufficiency can be found in W.E.B. DuBois, *The Negro Landholder of Georgia*, U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 35 (Washington, 1901), 739-40. The extent of black landholding is effectively demonstrated by the Federal Census of 1900:

<i>Black Farm Landownership in Coastal Georgia 1900</i>			
	Number Of Black Farm Owners	Total Number Black Farmers	Percent of Total Black Farmers
Bryan	144	267	53.9
Camden	403	571	70.6
Chatham	171	426	40.1
Glynn	97	119	81.5
Liberty	793	1138	69.7
McIntosh	243	313	77.6
Total	1851	2834	65.3

(Source: Federal Census, *Agriculture*, 1900: 68-71.)

Negroes there," a Georgia planter observed, "will not work for wages, as they can live without work on fish, crawfish and oysters; a little patch of cotton furnishing them the means for tobacco and clothing."¹² Consequently, as one white newspaper noted (with some exaggeration), coastal blacks had become "perfectly independent of the white man."¹³

Just as the comparative economic independence of rural blacks provided a foundation for collective protest, so too did the economic standing of black residents of Darien. The town, with its black population of roughly 1,000 out of a total population of 1,700, sustained many black merchants and craftsmen. Large numbers of blacks also found employment in the town's flourishing lumber and turpentine industries. Notably, black property holding, both of homes and stores, was extensive and commonplace in Darien.¹⁴

In addition to the measure of economic autonomy that coastal blacks attained following the Civil War, political activism bolstered the cohesion of the black community. With the revolution in the status of blacks brought about by Reconstruction, shrewd and able black leaders mobilized local blacks. Tunis Campbell, a black carpetbagger and former abolitionist, created a political machine in McIntosh County that controlled local politics for years. Black politicians relied on the large black majorities in the regions to retain office until the early twentieth century, well after their counterparts elsewhere in the South had been driven from office.¹⁵

¹²*Savannah Morning News*, August 27, 1899.

¹³The newspaper went on to explain the significance of the economic independence of local blacks. "Some of the best farms are owned by the negroes themselves. It is known among the negroes that should a prolonged difficulty with the whites occur, the black men would have sufficient food to sustain them supplied from the farms either by [black] owners or tenants . . .," *ibid.*

¹⁴W.E.B. DuBois provides data on the extent of town property holding by blacks in 1899 in *The Negro Landholder of Georgia*, 678-79, 680, 739-40. For a contemporary newspaper portrait of one prosperous black family, the Henry Todd family of Darien, see *Atlanta Journal*, May 15, 1890.

¹⁵The political history of postbellum coastal Georgia is traced in Russell Duncan, *Freedom's Shore: Tunis Campbell and the Georgia Freedmen* (Athens, Ga., 1987). Duncan's treatment counters the stridently hostile portrait by E. Merton Coulter, *Negro Legislators in Georgia During the Reconstruction Period* (Athens, 1968). For another account, see Albert E. Smith, "Down Freedom's Road: The Contours of Race, Class, and Property Crime in Black-Belt Georgia, 1866-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1982), 117-64.



Tunis G. Campbell, a black carpetbagger, left a legacy of political activism and organization among blacks in McIntosh County which helped provide a foundation for protesting Henry Delegele's arrest and imprisonment. *Portrait courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.*

The combination of McIntosh County's large black population, much of which enjoyed considerable economic independence, articulate leadership, and deeply rooted community ties created an atmosphere conducive to a collective challenge to mob violence. The crowd of blacks that quickly gathered to protect Henry Delegele after the ringing of the Baptist church bell in Darien on August 22 was the predictable and understandable expression of the heritage and attitudes of blacks in McIntosh County.

On several occasions on the day following the arrest of Delegele, the sheriff had made attempts to move the prisoner from the jail, but on each occasion the watchmen rang the bell and hastily gathered crowds of blacks refused to allow the transfer of the prisoner. On the second day of the stand-off, the sheriff made a final attempt to remove Delegele, but again he was discovered while in the act. In a short time perhaps as many as one hundred blacks, many armed, surrounded the jail. Although the assembled blacks explained that their sole intention was to protect Delegele, local authorities concluded that the situation had gotten out of hand and force might be necessary to restore order. Because the local militia company, the Darien

Dragons, was virtually defunct, the authorities wired Governor Allen D. Candler and urgently requested troops.¹⁶

Upon receiving the request for troops, Governor Candler promptly ordered two hundred men and six officers of the First Infantry Regiment of the state militia, comprised of several militia companies in Savannah, to report to the McIntosh County sheriff. Within two hours, two hundred militia troops from the Republican Blues, Irish Jasper Greens, German Volunteers, Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Georgia Hussars, and Savannah Cadets left Savannah on a special train provided by the Florida Central and Peninsula. Urged on by warnings of a “race war” in McIntosh, the train engineers drove the engine at a furious pace, exceeding a mile a minute for much of the trip, and delivered the troops to Darien shortly after dusk.¹⁷

With bayonets fixed and rifles loaded, the troops faced the large crowd of blacks that met the train. Although many blacks brandished shotguns and pistols, they made no effort to interfere with the troops. Even the blatantly sensational accounts in white newspapers admitted that “there was no appearance of riot or disorder.”¹⁸ Judge Paul E. Seabrook, the Superior Court judge for the district that included McIntosh County, gave an impromptu speech to the crowd urging them to disperse and announced that the troops had come to transport Deleale to Savannah.¹⁹ His audience, now assured that Deleale would not be lynched while in transit to Savannah, erupted in applause and celebration.²⁰

After marching the troops to the jail, the commanding militia officer reported to Sheriff Blount. Within minutes, Mayor Kenan, the sheriff, and several prominent whites led Deleale out of the jail and to the train. Once the prisoner and a small guard of militia were aboard the train, the militia com-

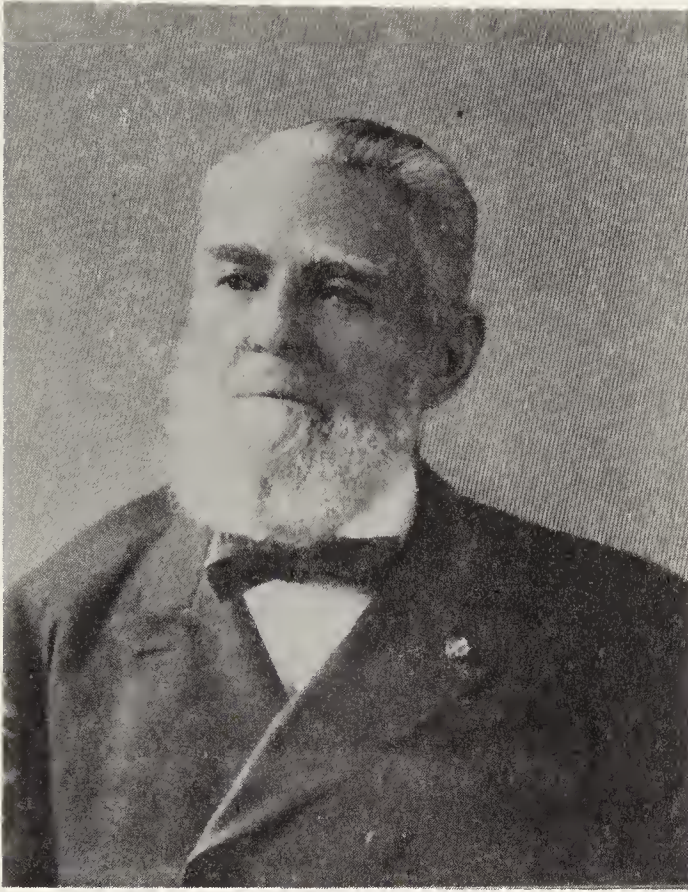
¹⁶The most detailed coverage of the early events in Darien is in *Atlanta Constitution*, August 24-27, 1899; *Savannah Morning News*, August 24-27, 1899; *Savannah Press*, August 24-27, 1899.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Savannah Morning News*, August 25, 1899.

¹⁹Seabrook, born in South Carolina of a distinguished family, had been appointed judge for the district that included Bryan, Effingham, Liberty, and McIntosh counties during the previous year. *Darien Gazette*, November 5, 1898.

²⁰*Savannah Press*, August 24, 1899; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 24, 1899.



At the urging of the local sheriff, Governor Allen D. Candler sent units of the state militia to quell black unrest during the Darien "insurrection." *Photograph courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.*

mander and most of the troops took up positions in the center of Darien. Sentries were posted throughout the town (and in the black Baptist church in particular), and the troops spent an eventless night marching the streets of the town.²¹

The crisis in Darien might well have ended without further turmoil had the local authorities refrained from rounding up the organizers of the black guard who had interfered with the sheriff. Unable to ignore such a blatant gesture of resolve by blacks or the possible consequences if the "rioters" went un-

²¹The details of the militia's duty in Darien is recorded in the Adjutant General's Report, *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1899, 112-25.

punished, local authorities “determined that those who led the mob . . . shall feel the weight of the strong arm they have defied, and that punishment shall be meted out to them.” On August 24, the day following the removal of Delegale, the sheriff arrested thirty-five alleged “rioters.” While these arrests seem to have prompted few disturbances, the actions of a quasi-official posse of whites had the opposite effect.²²

Around three o'clock on the morning of August 25, two temporarily appointed deputies, Robert Townsend and O. Hopkins, traveled to the Delegale homestead several miles from Darien. Once at the house, they demanded that the Delegale sons surrender to them on charges of having incited the unrest in Darien. Initially the black men agreed, but when Hopkins flourished his gun, someone in the house opened fire with a shotgun on the two white men. The blast hit both men, killing Townsend and severely wounding Hopkins.²³ Under any circumstances in the South, the shooting of whites by blacks would excite local whites; McIntosh County whites had the additional incentive to demonstrate unequivocally to blacks that their defiance would not be tolerated. But no lynchings or further bloodshed followed. Instead, a biracial effort by locally prominent blacks and militia officers worked to ease the clearly volatile situation.

Colonel Alexander R. Lawton, the ranking commander of the militia, took the first step in restoring order. To prevent the sheriff's posse from degenerating into a lynch mob, he convinced the sheriff to enlist the aid of the militia in capturing the Delegates. Both the posse and the militia raced to capture the black family, but before the posse reached the Delegale homestead, the matriarch of the family met the advancing militia and pleaded for the troops to protect her family from the posse. The militia officers persuaded the sheriff's posse, which included the brothers of the two men who had been shot, to surrender their arms and to promise to refrain from violence against the family. The Delegates then surrendered and were

²²McIntosh County Superior Court Jail Record, 1886-1927, 33-36. Microfilm Reel 34, Drawer 64, Georgia Department of Archives & History, Atlanta, Georgia. See also *Savannah Morning News*, August 25, 1899.

²³*Savannah Press*, August 25, 1899; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 26, 1899; *Savannah Morning News*, August 26, 1899.

moved without incident to the jail in Darien. Almost certainly, had the militia not been present the posse would have carried out its avowed intention to avenge the shooting of Townsend and Hopkins by executing the entire black family.²⁴

Col. Lawton met with ten of the county's most prominent blacks and asked them to use their influence to calm the black community. The group, consisting of the Revs. E. M. Brawley, Paul R. Mifflin, J. P. Davis, all ministers in local Baptist churches, the Rev. J. D. Taylor of the Presbyterian church, the Rev. G. W. Butler of the African Methodist Episcopal church, the Rev. F. M. Mann of the St. Cyprian P. Episcopal Church, Charles R. Jackson, postmaster of Darien, John C. Lawton, federal collector of customs for Darien, S. W. McIver, chairman of the local Republican party, and James L. Grant, editor of the *Darien Spectator*, enjoyed excellent reputations in the white community.²⁵ These black leaders, who had been conspicuously silent during the previous week, collaborated on a circular that was posted throughout the county and widely published. They insisted that blacks refrain from any acts that might incite white violence and that they recognize that the troops were not present solely to protect "white interests." The circular admonished women to "abstain from all words that may incite rashness or may be abusive. And by all means let every man see to it that no colored woman shall show her face at the courthouse or on the streets thereto. . . ." In conclusion, the circular urged all local residents to uphold the law and "to bring back to our city and county that peace and harmony between the races with which in the past we have been so signally blessed."²⁶

The combination of the circular and the apparent intention of Col. Lawton to prevent any mob violence persuaded many of the alleged black rioters to turn themselves in. During the next two days the number of alleged rioters in jail rose to fifty-eight men and five women. Two days after the issuing of the

²⁴*Savanna Press*, August 26-27, 1899; *Savannah Morning News*, August 26-27, 1899.

²⁵The local white newspaper, for example, noted that Rev. Mifflin "is thought a heap of by the white people of Darien," *Darien Gazette*, April 29, 1899.

²⁶*Atlanta Constitution*, August 28, 1899; *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1899, 112-25, includes the militia commander's account as well as the proclamation issued by the committee of local blacks.

VOLUME VIII. SAVANNAH

RACE WAR IMMINENT; TROUBLE NOT ENDED

Entire First Regiment Left Savannah Again
For Darien.

Col. Lawton Departs for the Seat of Trouble
at Head of Command.

BRUNSWICK TROOPS UNDER ARMS

Young Delegate Captured Today--Effort to Wreck
Train to Savannah Wednesday.

**COMING OF NIGHT
IS NOW DREADED**

The Darien incident provoked alarmist headlines throughout the state such as these from the *Savannah Press* on August 26, 1899.

circular, a special term of the Superior Court convened in Darien and took up the cases of the various participants in the "insurrection." Judge Seabrook, intent on emptying the jail of the rioters, scheduled the trials of the rioters first, before turning to the closely watched cases of Henry Delegeale, whose alleged rape had sparked the turmoil, and of his family, who was

charged with murdering Robert Townsend and wounding O. Hopkins.

When the trial began, twenty-three of the alleged rioters were convicted while the charges against the remaining forty were dropped. The rioters received stiff fines ranging from two hundred and fifty to one thousand dollars and prison terms of twelve months' hard labor.²⁷ Then Judge Seabrook took up the cases of Henry Delegele and his two sons, ruling in favor of their motion for a change of venue and thereby ensuring a fairer trial than would have been possible in McIntosh County. At the close of the trials in nearby Effingham County, John and Edward Delegele, charged with the murder of Robert Townsend, received life sentences, but their brother and sister, who also had been charged with the murder, were acquitted. The jury also concluded that Henry Delegele was innocent of the rape charge that had precipitated the turmoil of the past month.²⁸

The convicted Delegeles and the rioters certainly suffered for their actions. The Delegeles endured harsh treatment while serving their sentences in the Brooks County convict camp in south Georgia. The convicted rioters, including two women, Louisa Underwood and Maria Curry, were hired out to the James sawmill at Adrian, Georgia. Although a revision of the convict lease law had prohibited the leasing of women prisoners, the two women, in apparent violation of the new law, served out their terms at the sawmill.²⁹

The conclusion of the Darien "insurrection" left little doubt that whites could suppress organized black protest. While white lynchers before and after the incident acted with little fear of prosecution, the stiff penalties meted out to the "rioters" in McIntosh County were cruel reminders of the transparent racial bias of Georgia's courts. And the presence of state militia to restore order underscored the overpowering arsenal that whites had at their disposal to shore up their domination. Yet,

²⁷McIntosh County Superior Court Minutes, Book E, 1896-1905, 174-97; *Savannah Press*, September 1, 1899.

²⁸McIntosh County Superior Court Minutes, Book E, 1896-1905, 227-28.

²⁹*Darien Gazette*, February 24, 1900; *Third Annual Report of the Prison Commission of Georgia, 1899-1900* (Atlanta, 1900), 42; *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1897* (Atlanta, 1898), 71-76.

the “insurrection” also exposed several distinctive characteristics of race relations in the region. Both the restrained response of the local whites and the Savannah militia commander to the black protesters and their willingness to work with local black leaders to quell tensions typified the meticulously maintained tone and conventions of race relations in the region. In addition, the organization and militancy of coastal blacks also served as a warning to whites that blacks would not let mob violence pass without protest.³⁰

The events in McIntosh County cast light on the comparative infrequency of lynchings in coastal Georgia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a state where blacks were commonplace victims of the noose and torch, only thirteen lynchings occurred in the six coastal counties between 1880 and 1930. No region in the state had fewer lynchings, whether measured in absolute terms or in proportion to the total black population (see Tables 1 and 2 and map, p. 251).

How then can the infrequency of mob violence in the coastal region be explained? Whites along the Georgia coast may in part have refrained from violent attacks against blacks because of lingering paternalism, but also because they could not count upon a passive black response. Whites lacked many of the traditional means to intimidate blacks; blacks still retained modest political rights, a modicum of economic independence, and durable community bonds, and therefore were less vulnerable to many non-violent forms of coercion. But whites could not lightly turn to violence because they recognized they were not dealing with a cowed and impotent black population.

When whites in McIntosh County concluded that black behavior had exceeded appropriate boundaries, they had to rely upon the outside aid of the state to restore order and caste boundaries. That whites in McIntosh County felt compelled to take such steps is indicative not of their strength, but rather of their comparative weakness and the strength of the black community. Moreover, the reliance on state intervention by coastal

³⁰For an account of the Darien “Insurrection” that reaches very different conclusions, see Arthur Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 232. Raper’s brief account is marred by numerous errors and shows little understanding of the tradition of race relations in coastal Georgia.

TABLE 1: LYNCHING OF BLACKS BY REGION AND DECADE, GEORGIA, 1881-1930

	Mountain	Piedmont	Black Belt	Southern	Coastal
1881-1890	5	5	20	26	1
1891-1900	7	12	45	35	5
1901-1910	0	9	41	40	3
1911-1920	4	8	69	52	0
1921-1930	0	2	20	13	4*
Total	16	38	195	166	13

(Source: Brundage, "Lynching in the New South," 22-75.)

TABLE 2: LYNCHINGS PER 100,000 BLACKS BY REGION AND DECADE, GEORGIA, 1881-1930

	Mountain	Piedmont	Black Belt	Southern	Coastal
<i>Coastal</i>					
1881-1890	36.6	3.9	3.8	19.3	1.6
1891-1900	50.7	7.9	7.6	16.8	6.9
1901-1910	0	5.1	6.5	14.1	4.0
1911-1920	31.3	4.3	11.3	16.4	0
1921-1930	0	3.9	4.0	4.8	5.4*
Average	23.7	5.0	6.6	14.3	3.6

(Source: Federal Census, 1880-1930; *ibid.*)

*Note: The total for the decade 1921-1930 in coastal Georgia is distorted by a lynching of two black men taken from the sheriff of Ware County while in transit by a small mob from south Georgia. Although the lynching occurred in Liberty County in the coastal region, no local residents participated in or witnessed the murder. See L. E. Williams to John E. Nail, July 21, 1922, NAACP Papers, Box C-355, Library of Congress; *Savannah Morning News*, July 2, 4, 1922.

whites contrasts sharply with the haste with which whites elsewhere in Georgia punished infractions with extralegal violence. Had blacks in the "Wire Grass" region of southern Georgia, for example, ever staged an "insurrection" a wholesale pogrom against blacks would have erupted.³¹

³¹For example, in Brooks County in December 1894, whites launched a campaign of terrorism against the black population after some blacks armed to protect themselves against a marauding mob of white lynchers. Militia failed to prevent the murder of five blacks and the beating of countless others. See *Atlanta Constitution*, December 22-27, 1894; *Macon Telegraph*, December 24, 25, 1894; *Valdosta Daily Times*, December 22, 29, 1894; January 5, 1895.

Whites in coastal Georgia were no less vigorous supporters of white supremacy than were whites elsewhere—in fact, they were often more so—but they recognized that violence against blacks could have unintended and, more important, troublesome consequences. The combination of effective black leadership that strove to prevent racial conflict and the threat of black protest in the event of white violence convinced many local white leaders that racial violence posed an unwelcome threat to social tranquility. Furthermore, white leaders gained legitimacy by stifling lynchings. They could allude to the alternatives to their benign rule by drawing comparisons with the brittle race relations elsewhere in the South in order to win the allegiance, if only grudging allegiance, of black leaders.

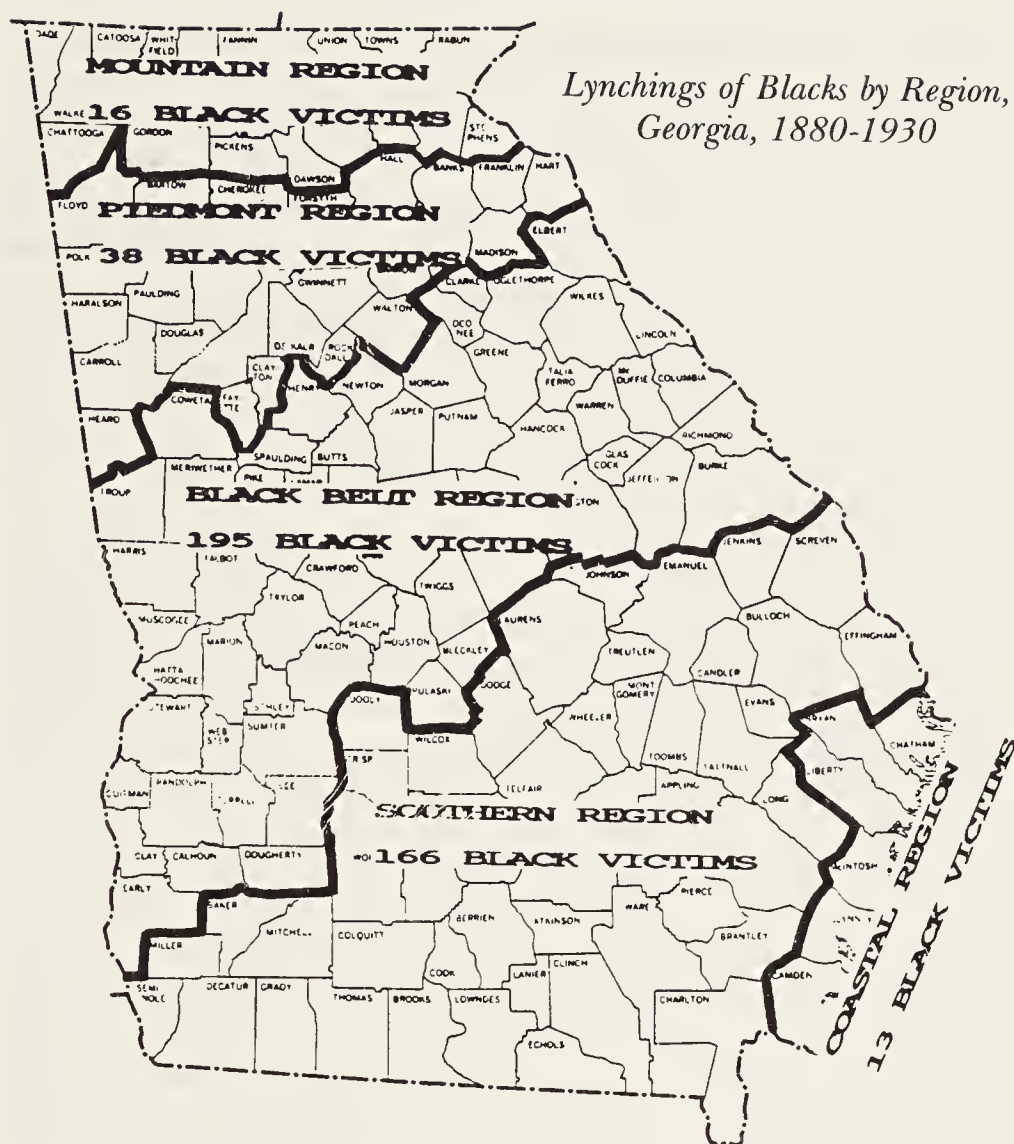
Coastal whites struggled to explain the events at Darien, but the straitjacket of white racism imposed rigid constraints on their understanding of the “insurrection.” In a climate of heightened racial tensions, whites were unable and unwilling to admit that the stand by blacks represented anything but lawlessness. White newspapers in Savannah attempted to string together anecdotal accounts of black misdeeds in recent years to portray the blacks of McIntosh as dangerous and reckless. “We have often praised them as law-abiding and good citizens,” the *Darien Gazette* complained, “and it is now with a feeling of sorrow that we are compelled to publish their outrageous proceedings. . . .”³² Whites repeated incantations of white supremacy, but with the veiled recognition that there were limits to their power. In a slogan that succinctly captured the sentiments of most whites in the coastal region, the *Darien Gazette* explained that “the whites are going to rule and rule *justly*.”³³

The editorial columns of the white papers, in apparent contradiction to the sensational and overdrawn accounts of blacks in McIntosh County, stressed the importance of interracial cooperation in ending the disturbance without greater bloodshed.³⁴ As one Savannah newspaper noted, the efforts of

³²*Darien Gazette*, August 26, September 2, 1899.

³³*Ibid.*, September 2, 1899 (italics added).

³⁴For strident editorials, see *Savannah Morning News*, August 27, 1899; *Savannah Press*, August 28, 1899. Contrast with *Savannah Morning News*, August 29, 1899; *Savannah Press*, August 29, 1899.



Source: adapted from Robert Preston Brooks, "The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912," in *Georgia Studies: Selected Writings of Robert Preston Brooks* (Athens, Ga., 1952), 91.

prominent blacks in Darien helped "to cement the peace and harmony which in the past has so signally blessed the relationship between the races in McIntosh County."³⁵ The lesson that the *Savannah Morning News* drew from the episode was that the two races had to work together to ensure that "misapprehen-

³⁵*Savannah Press*, August 29, 1899.

sions" of either race did not produce similar outbursts in the future.³⁶

Prominent blacks, like their white counterparts, shared a commitment to maintaining tranquil race relations. They only had to look elsewhere in the South to see how bad race relations could be; and while they argued that the status of blacks in the coastal region demanded improvement, they strove to prevent any further erosion of the position of blacks. When racial conflict erupted in Darien, they worked diligently to diffuse the tension. At times, as in the crisis at Darien in 1899, they had to mediate between whites and the black rank and file who bitterly resented abuse at the hands of whites.³⁷

What, then, is the larger significance of the Darien "insurrection"? Rather than discount the events in 1899 as exceptional, they should be seen as examples of the diversity of race relations that existed even during the "highest stage" of white supremacy.³⁸ When attempted lynchings receive careful scholarly scrutiny, it is likely that the portrait of southern blacks as sullen, powerless victims of mob violence will need serious revision. After most lynchings blacks well understood that vigorous protest would be suppressed brutally by whites. But prior to threatened lynchings aroused blacks were often inventive and vocal opponents of mob violence. These bold stands, like the Darien "insurrection," offer just one demonstration that white violence need not always produce pervasive fatalism or strict obedience among blacks, even during an era of ascendant white supremacy. The "insurrection" also suggests new approaches to the question of the seemingly baffling geographical distribution of lynchings in the South. In the search for explanations of the pattern of lynching, scholars have pointed to a wide variety of socioeconomic causes, ranging from the persistence

³⁶*Savannah Morning News*, August 29, 1899.

³⁷Two recent studies, which offer trenchant discussions of black leaders in Norfolk and Louisville, shed light on attitudes that were similar to those of black leaders in coastal Georgia. See Earl Lewis, "At Work and At Home: Blacks in Norfolk, Virginia, 1910-1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1984), 179-83; and George C. Wright, *Life Behind the Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930* (Baton Rouge, 1985), esp. 156-75.

³⁸Scholarly interest in the Darien "insurrection" and other examples of black protest in the South will begin to answer Howard Rabinowitz's recent call for more research on the "fluidity" of race relations during the period of segregation. See Howard Rabinowitz, "More Than the Woodward Thesis: Assessing *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988), 848.

of frontier conditions to fluctuations in cotton prices. If blacks figure into the equation at all, it is usually by relating the geographical distribution of lynchings to the proportion of blacks in the population.³⁹

In addition to the traditional explanations of the patterns of lynching—poverty, weak rural governments, and economic conditions, for example—the protest of blacks in McIntosh County points to the likelihood that blacks themselves imposed limits on white violence. In other areas of the South where blacks enjoyed a range of economic possibilities, a degree of communal autonomy and articulate leadership, blacks were often outspoken in their opposition to lynching. In Tidewater Virginia, for example, a region that shared many traits with coastal Georgia, African-Americans on several occasions organized themselves into unofficial militia and protected alleged black criminals while they were in jail. And after several lynchings Tidewater blacks took to the streets to express their outrage.⁴⁰ Even in Mississippi, where the obstacles to black self-defense were as great as anywhere in the South, some black communities violently resisted white vigilantism.⁴¹ Deeply resentful of each failure of local authorities to protect them from mob violence, some blacks turned to their own race for protection. Nowhere in the South did blacks have the effective means to suppress lynching, but they could, and as the Darien "insurrection" indicates did, play an important and complex role in restraining white violence.

³⁹For just a sampling of efforts to explain the pattern of lynching, see Hubert Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations* (New York, 1967), 157-59; Carl I. Hovland and Robert R. Sears, "Correlation of Lynchings with Economic Indices," *Journal of Psychology* 9 (April 1940): 301-10; John Shelton Reed, "Percent Black and Lynching: A Test of Blalock's Theory," *Social Forces* 50 (March 1972): 356-60; Earl F. Young, "The Relation of Lynching to the Size of Population Areas," *Sociology and Social Research* 12 (March-April 1928): 348-53.

⁴⁰Blacks organized guards to protect jails in Hampton, Virginia in January 1889 and Richmond in May 1901. Near Norfolk, in 1904, intimidated white authorities called in the state militia to restore order after the black population reacted with fury to the lynching of George Blount, a politician and outspoken opponent of white supremacy. In the aftermath of other lynchings, blacks organized campaigns to raise money for the victims' families and to protest white lawlessness. See Robert F. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (Philadelphia, 1979), 195; *Richmond Dispatch*, May 8, 1901; *Richmond Planet*, May 11, 1901; *Portsmouth Star*, October 25-30, 1904; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, October 25-November 1, 1904; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 25-29, 1904.

⁴¹Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), 225-26.

Review Essay

Roots Revisited: The Anglicization of America

BY JASON H. SILVERMAN

Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America. By David Hackett Fischer. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, Pp. xxi, 946. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Colonies then are the Seeds of Nations, begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous Countries; as conceiving them best for the increase of Humane Stock.

—William Penn, 1681 (p. 783)

History is culturally ordered, differently so in different societies . . . The converse is also true: cultural schemes are historically ordered.

—Marshall Sahlins, 1985 (p. vii)

Every generation of historians, it seems, has produced a theory concerning the origins and nature of the American character; a character which “for two centuries has remained stubbornly democratic in its politics, capitalist in its economy, libertarian in its laws, individualist in its society and pluralistic in its culture” (p. 4). Herbert Baxter Adams explained it in terms of the “Teutonic germs” of free institutions, which first migrated along with the settlers from the German forests to Britain and then eventually on to America. Indeed, as Baxter maintained, it was in the Teutonic forests that Saxon warriors first met in early versions of the New England town meeting. Frederick Jackson Turner found an explanation for the development of American institutions in the environment itself, particularly the western frontier. Richard Hofstadter and Daniel Boorstin turned to the economic abundance and ingenuity that created a broad-based American middle class. Arthur Schles-

MR. SILVERMAN is professor of history at Winthrop College.

inger, Sr., Marcus Lee Hansen, Oscar Handlin, and most recently Bernard Bailyn examined the process of immigration and ethnic pluralism as determinants of a voluntary society.

Into this historiographical foray now steps Brandeis University historian David Hackett Fischer. And Fischer does not trod lightly in this first (almost 950 pages) volume of a multi-volume, sociocultural history of the United States. In fact, Fischer boldly implies that nearly every major scholar of the twentieth century has misunderstood the nature of American society. It was Herbert Baxter Adams, according to Fischer, who was more right than wrong. This is a bold assertion, for it was against Baxter's nineteenth-century "germ theory" that Frederick Jackson Turner first directed his frontier thesis. And although Turner's interpretations have long since been modified or discredited, the general belief that American society can best be understood as a response to the circumstances of the New World, has remained very much alive. Indeed, Gordon Wood has recently speculated that in one form or another most modern-day American historians have paid homage to Turner either directly or indirectly in their writings.

Arguable though this may be, certainly most historians have not been subscribers to Adams's "germ theory." Many American historians have minimized, or outright ignored, the continuities between Europe and America. More like Turner, modern historians such as Daniel Boorstin have emphasized the differences between Old World and New, and have paid homage to the uniqueness of American development. Even scholars such as Handlin and Bailyn, who have written on immigration and have recognized the links between Europe and America, have nevertheless stressed not the persistence of Old World characteristics, but rather the ameliorating nature of the American environment on those characteristics.

Yet, Fischer launches a frontal assault upon the twentieth-century Turnerite dominance of early American history. His own volume, writes Fischer, "argues a modified 'germ thesis' about the importance for the United States of having been British in cultural origins" (p. 5). Indeed, settlers from various sections of England—called Albion by the ancient Greeks—brought divergent values to the New World, where they plant-

ed distinctive regional cultures that remain essential to America's sociocultural fabric even today. And Fischer sees everything from the different accents in New England and the South to southern political conservatism in terms of the differences brought by the early settlers.

Who were these migrants who brought with them the seeds of the American character? Fischer sees them as four large waves of English-speaking immigrants. The first was an exodus of about twenty thousand Puritans from the eastern portion of England to Massachusetts during the period 1629 to 1640. The second was the migration of a small group of Royalist cavaliers and indentured servants from southern England to Virginia from approximately 1642 to 1675. The third was the migration from the North Midlands of England and Wales to the Delaware Valley during the half century after 1675. The final group was a flow of English-speaking people from the borders of North Britain and northern Ireland to the Appalachian back-country during the period from 1718 to 1775.

These four groups at once shared some significant commonalities while also differing in salient ways. All of them spoke the King's English and nearly all were British Protestants. They lived under British laws and were proud of possessing their British liberties. Yet they differed from one another in their particular brands of Protestantism, in their social status, in their customs, and also in the British regions from whence they came. "They carried across the Atlantic four different sets of British folkways which became the basis of regional cultures in the New World" (p. 6).

By the eve of the American Revolution these four cultures were firmly established in British America. They each spoke distinctive dialects of English, constructed their homes in different ways, cooked differently and ate different foods, regarded the opposite sex and the elderly in contrasting manners, raised and named their children differently, used time differently, and ordered their society and government differently. In fact as Fischer writes, "Most important for the political history of the United States, they also had four different conceptions of order, power and freedom which became the cornerstones of a voluntary society in British America" (p. 6).

These varying British customs and practices have had far-reaching and long-lasting effects upon the development of American society. For even though less than 20 percent of today's American population can lay claim to British ancestry, Fischer believes that "in a cultural sense most Americans are Albion's seed, no matter who their own forebears may have been" (p. 6). Why? Because, according to Fischer, strong residual effects of the four British folkways may still be discerned in the major dialects of American speech, in the regional patterns of American life, in the complex machinations of American politics, and in the different ideas of freedom in the United States. Therein lies the central thesis of Fischer's book: "The interplay of four 'freedom ways' has created an expansive pluralism which is more libertarian than any unitarian culture alone could be. . . . The legacy of four British folkways in early America remains the most powerful determinant of the voluntary society in the United States today" (p. 7).

Because the term "folkways" is so essential to the historical house of cards that Fischer constructs, it is imperative to define it at length, lest the house come tumbling down. The term "folkways" was first coined by American sociologist William Graham Sumner to mean "usages, manners, customs, mores, and morals" (p. 7). While Sumner thought that folkways arose from biological instincts, he wrote that "Men begin with acts, not with thoughts" (p. 7). Fischer, however, disagrees. Folkways, as defined in *Albion's Seed* is the "normative structure of values, customs, and meanings that exist in any culture. . . . It is not primarily biological or instinctual in its origins, . . . but social and intellectual" (p. 7). Although somewhat tedious, Fischer's extensive criteria for the folkways that profoundly influenced American development are as follows:

Speech ways: conventional patterns of written and spoken language: pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, and grammar.

Building ways: prevailing forms of vernacular architecture and high architecture, which tend to be related to one another.

Family ways: the structure and function of the household and family, both ideal and in actuality.

Marriage ways: ideas of the marriage-bond, and cultural processes of courtship, marriage, and divorce.

- Gender ways*: customs that regulate social relations between men and women.
- Sex ways*: conventional sexual attitudes and acts, and the treatment of sexual deviance.
- Child-rearing ways*: ideas of child nature and customs of child nature.
- Naming ways*: onomastic customs including favored forenames and the descent of names within the family.
- Age ways*: attitudes toward age, experiences of aging, and age-relationships.
- Death ways*: attitudes toward death, mortality rituals, mortuary customs, and mourning practices.
- Religious ways*: patterns of religious worship, theology, ecclesiology and church architecture.
- Magic ways*: normative beliefs and practices concerning the supernatural.
- Learning ways*: attitudes toward literacy and learning, and conventional patterns of education.
- Food ways*: patterns of diet, nutrition, cooking, eating, feasting and fasting.
- Dress ways*: customs of dress, demeanor, and personal adornment.
- Sport ways*: attitudes toward recreation and leisure; folk games and forms of organized sport.
- Work ways*: work ethics and work experiences; attitudes toward work and the nature of work.
- Time ways*: attitudes toward the use of time, customary methods of time keeping, and the conventional rhythms of life.
- Wealth ways*: attitudes toward wealth and patterns of its distribution.
- Rank ways*: the rules by which rank is assigned, the roles which rank entails, and relations between different ranks.
- Social ways*: conventional patterns of migration, settlement, association and affiliation.
- Order ways*: ideas of order, ordering institutions, forms of disorder, and treatment of the disorderly.
- Power ways*: attitudes toward authority and power; patterns of political participation.
- Freedom ways*: prevailing ideas of liberty and restraint, and libertarian customs and institutions (pp. 8-9).

With these categories as the infrastructure, Fischer neatly divides his book into four main sections each dealing with one of the four major waves of immigrants and the particular area of America in which it settled. In great detail Fischer describes

the regional, social, and religious origins of the migrants and then how each category of the folkways listed above relates. Fischer's conclusions almost become inevitable by book's end: the origin of the specific custom or folkway that he describes can be directly linked to the English or British region from whence the migrants came.

Thus, practices that we normally associate with the Puritans were not invented in America but rather originated in the Old World. For example, conventional historiography tells us that the Puritan practice of forbidding a single person to "live of himself" and placing him in families originated in Puritan New England. Not so says Fischer. It had long been practiced in East Anglia. From as early as 1562 to the mid-1600s, The High Constables' Sessions and Quarter Courts of Essex County in England had taken similar action against single men, bachelors, and "masterless men." "The Puritans took over this custom," maintains Fischer, "and endowed it with the spiritual intensity of their faith" (p. 73).

The Puritans also carried with them to the New World an obsession with witchcraft and magic. Even more than most of their contemporaries, the Puritans constantly searched for clues to God's purposes in the world. In fact, it was this impulse that led so many Puritans to study nature with "that extraordinary intensity" which played an integral role in the birth of modern science. Yet the Puritans were merely transplanting that which their ancestors had known in England. For as Fischer writes,

Here again, we find a striking similarity between East Anglia and Massachusetts. Despite arguments to the contrary by loyal sons of the Puritans in the twentieth century, there is strong and compelling evidence that New England was indeed, in the words of Cotton Mather, "a country . . . extraordinarily alarum'd by the wrath of the Devil." In the mother country, George Gifford described the county of Essex as "one of the worst in England" for witchcraft. Here again, the Puritan colonies resembled the English region from whence they sprang. (p. 130)

So, too, were the food baking practices of East Anglia carried to New England by the Puritans. The founders of Mas-

sachusetts introduced a characteristic attitude toward food which combined Puritan ideals and English tastes. "Three distant culinary regimes of food preparation, marked by a special taste for frying in the south and west, for boiling in the north, and for baking in East Anglia" were brought to the New World by the migrants from those regions (p. 138).

The renowned New England town meeting is a misnomer as well since it was transplanted from East Anglia where it had existed many centuries before the great migration. "Every East Anglian town had its own customs, no two were ever exactly the same and most changed through time. The word *town* itself altered its meaning in this period—slowly begining to be used in a new sense to describe small urban centers" (p. 197). East Anglia had more towns in this modern sense than any other part of England in the early seventeenth century, and each developed a system of self-government distinctly different from the more rural communities. That such a pattern emerged in colonial New England comes as no surprise to Fischer.

The second wave of migration followed a similar pattern. The culture that came to characterize Virginia was shaped by the long-existing English customs of its immigrants. Most of the forty to fifty thousand Englishmen who emigrated to Virginia between the years 1645 and 1670 came from sixteen counties in the south and west of England. At the heart of this area was Thomas Hardy country, the fictional Wessex. "Through many centuries this area developed its own distinctive culture. Its language and laws were those of the West Saxons, rather than the Danes who settled East Anglia, or the Norse who colonized the north country, or the Celts who held Cornwall and Wales" (p. 241). The culture indigenous to this region, according to Fischer, was characterized by a small dominating landowning class, which possessed a finely tuned sense of honor and a hierarchical conception of liberty.

Royalist in their politics and Anglican in their faith, the people from this region were accustomed to deep and pervasive inequalities in their society, to rural settlement patterns, and to reliance upon staple agriculture. During the early middle ages slavery had existed on a large scale throughout this area of

England. Indeed, during the eighth and ninth centuries, the size of the major slaveholdings in the south of England reached the levels comparable to those on the large plantations in the American South some one thousand years later. And slavery in the Wessex area lasted longer than anywhere else in England.

Like the Puritans, seventeenth-century migrants to Virginia from this region brought their culture with them. Furthermore, it was this transplanted Wessex culture, *not* the physical environment of the Chesapeake, *not* the development of tobacco cultivation, and *not* the demand for labor that shaped the living patterns in colonial Virginia. "In an effort to preserve a cultural hegemony," Fischer claims that "the gentry of Virginia would develop a novel type of race slavery on a large scale—a radical innovation with profound consequences for the future. . . . These new forms of slavery did not create the culture of the tidewater Virginia; that culture created slavery" (p. 256). This bold statement, one of the most provocative in the book, is certain to send scholars of slavery scurrying, for it contradicts much of what is accepted about the early American South. Nevertheless, these scholars will have to wait a while before grappling fully with Fischer's thesis as he is leaving a complete discussion of slavery for his second volume.

In great detail, Fischer demonstrates how much of what we have come to regard as the culture of the Old South came instead directly from southern and western England. The speech patterns of the Virginians were not invented in America ("They derived from a family of regional dialects that had been spoken throughout the south and west of England during the seventeenth century," p. 259). The great houses of the colonial Chesapeake were not American ("Virginia's building ways . . . grew out of the vernacular architecture of southern England in a process that was guided by cultural purposes, environmental conditions and the inherited memory of an English past," p. 264). Southerners' eating habits, their extended patriarchal families, and even their hospitality came from the Old World and were merely transplanted and adapted in the new environment. In another pronouncement that is bound to make some southern historians cringe, Fischer maintains that those scholars who have attributed the predatory sexual habits of the

southern male to the presence and influence of slavery, are mistaken. Such predatory behavior appeared in Virginia before slavery was widespread and, of course, it had existed previously in rural England.

The people who came from the North Midlands of England and west who settled the Delaware Valley, including the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, likewise carried with them their particular cultural baggage that significantly shaped the culture of the region. Even though the English Quakers who founded the area welcomed immigrants of different national origins, they remained sufficiently in control of their colonies long enough to shape the character of the region. And even though the Quaker founders of Pennsylvania and West Jersey came from every part of England, one English region stood out above the rest: the North Midlands. More than any other part of England, the North Midlands had been colonized by Viking invaders and Fischer is quick to quote historian Hugh Barbour who has written, "From the Norsemen came the custom of moots, or assemblies in the open at a standing-stone or hilltop grave, which may have influenced the Quakers' love for such meeting places" (p. 446). Too, the austere culture of this regional population became a fertile field for Quakerism. "The values of both a region and a class were carried from England's North Midlands to the Delaware Valley" (p. 451), according to Fischer.

In this vein, Quaker architecture was quite a contrast to the building ways of Virginia or Massachusetts, but it was very similar to the dwellings in the north of England. The same could be said about gender relations (arising "not only from the religious beliefs . . . , but also from the regional culture of England's North Midlands," p. 497), marriage and inheritance patterns ("The Quakers also brought to America a strict set of marriage customs, which specified who one might marry, how and when and where and why," p. 485), and child-naming and child-rearing patterns ("naming choices were not invented in the New World," p. 506).

Even the speech pattern that we have come to equate with the Quakers was transplanted: "This American dialect developed largely from the language of England's North Mid-

lands—not from that source alone, but from a complex process of mixing and merging in which the primary source was an English regional dialect” (p. 470). The use of “thee” and “thou” as the standard second-person pronoun had long been customary in the North Midlands and was simply taken up by the Quakers and given a special egalitarian meaning.

Fischer’s final group of migrants was the largest of them all—perhaps a quarter of a million strong—whose transatlantic voyages spanned most of the eighteenth century. Most of these people came from areas that bordered on the Irish Sea: the north of Ireland, the Scottish lowlands, and the northern counties of England. And, as their British brethren did before them, they came with yet another variety of British culture. Their motives for coming were quite different from the New England Puritans, Delaware Quakers, or even the Virginia Cavaliers. “Among the North Britons, there was no talk of holy experiments, or cities on a hill. These new emigrants came mainly in search of material betterment” (p. 611).

Most of the settlers came from ranks below that of the gentry and statesman. They were a stubborn and proud border people, strengthened by centuries of chaos and insecurity, suspicious of strangers, and very much like their famous progeny, Andrew Jackson, quick to anger and fight. Given their history and backgrounds these emigrants to America brought with them an intense xenophobia, violence of expression, and “an indelible memory of oppression which shaped their political attitudes for generations to come” (p. 631).

In fact, a great many of the cultural traits that characterize the southern American backcountry—from clannishness to violence—had their roots in the borderlands of northern Britain. Feuding, marriage customs, distilled whiskey, leatherstocking pioneer dress, fire-and-brimstone sermons, religious camp meetings, and born-again revivalism all may be traced directly from the borders of North Britain. Further, when backcountrymen moved west in search of that condition of natural freedom that Daniel Boone called “elbow room,” they were merely repeating the thought of George Harrison, a North Briton who declared in the borderlands during the seventeenth century that “every man at nature’s table has a right to elbow room.”

The southern frontier, maintains Fischer, provided the space for the realization of this ideal, but like most of the other folkways, did not create it. Significantly, this libertarian idea of natural freedom as "elbow room" was "very far from the ordered freedom of New England towns, the hegemonic freedom of Virginia's county oligarchs, and the reciprocal freedom of Pennsylvania's Quakers."

Even the terms "hoosier," "redneck," and "cracker" were not invented by southern backcountry Americans. Hoosier evolves from the Old Cumberland words *hoozer* or *hoozier*, which meant something or someone who was especially large and rough. Redneck had long been used to describe religious dissenters in northern England before it was used in the United States. And Cracker "derived from an English pejorative for a low and vulgar braggart" (p. 758). The southern rural underclass, then, not only had its cultural characteristics originate in North Britain, but had its call names come from there as well. To Fischer, all of those scholars who insist upon searching for indigenous and materialist explanations for the origins of such American customs have simply ignored the roots of the original migrants.

Almost from the beginning, there was very little love lost among the colonists of whom Fischer details so comprehensively. The Anglicans of Virginia and the Puritans of New England agreed on little other than their loathing of the Quakers, who were regarded as dangerous radicals. The Puritans and the Quakers, in turn, disliked the Virginians. And Puritans, Virginia Cavaliers, and Quakers united in their opinion that the backcountry settlers of Appalachia were barbaric.

These occasionally feuding groups left America, according to Fischer, a rich and diverse legacy. In a hundred-page conclusion he traces the remarkable staying power of the regional customs into the present day. In the unique dialect of Massachusetts and much of New England today Fischer sees a high-pitched nasal accent called the "Norfolk whine" that the Puritans brought with them to the New World. Even today the distinctive pronunciation of the letter "r" that characterizes Yankee speech, transforming a word such as Harvard into Haa-v'd, can be heard in England's East Anglia region. In contrast,

the slow drawl of the South comes from the south and west of England, where ancestors of the Virginia cavaliers uttered such words as chitlins and no-count.

The settlers not only spoke differently, they also maintained fundamentally different attitudes toward education. The Puritans were members of a middle class schooled in the Bible who transmitted to their descendants an importance on literacy and learning. That is why even today, Fischer insists, there are exceptionally high levels of college attendance in New England—seat of some of the nation's finest colleges. The Quakers, ambivalent about education, were slower to found colleges but placed more emphasis on schooling than residents of the southern highlands where even today levels of educational attainment remain comparatively low. Fischer traces this to educational practices brought from northern Ireland, the north of England, and parts of rural Scotland to the backcountry "where there were no institutions comparable to New England's town schools or even to Virginia's system of parish education" (p. 723).

In domestic matters such as sexual relations and family violence, the past was also prologue. Violence was much more likely to occur in the patriarchal cultures of the backcountry and the Chesapeake than among the Puritans and the Quakers. This colonial pattern manifests itself today in the regional variations in the homicide rate, which is lower in the North than in the South and Southwest. And from the beginning, Fischer asserts, there was a strong connection between domestic violence and attitudes toward women. For instance, in Puritan Massachusetts the Christian ideal of spiritual equality between the sexes held force, and every woman was entitled by law to physical protection from both physical and verbal abuse. Men and women were also punished equally for sexual transgressions. The Quakers went even further as they held the revolutionary view that the family was a union of individuals who were equal in the sight of God. Quaker law was also the first to use on a regular basis the pronouns "he or she" (p. 495).

By contrast, in the southern backcountry men were considered warriors and women workers, a relationship that resulted in high levels of domestic violence. In the Chesapeake region

women were regarded as inferiors by the very law itself. Not surprisingly then, rape was a crime punishable by hanging in New England and in the southern colonies it was sometimes punished less severely than petty theft.

Fischer contends that this history goes a long way toward explaining why support for women's suffrage and for the equal-rights amendment has been stronger across the northern portion of the country and weakest in the South and Southwest. Most states in the southern highlands voted against the ERA while every state in the northern tier supported it. The nation's current political beliefs, Fischer states, reflect at heart the philosophical differences first spread by Albion's seed.

Participation in American wars was also traceable to unique regional experiences. Fischer proffers the controversial argument that northeastern liberals joined the fight against fascism and militarism during World War II because they saw it as a moral crusade, while southern conservatives were drawn by a kinship with Britain that dated back to the cavaliers. Backcountry descendants fought for national honor, while Quakers non-violently endorsed what they perceived as a battle against the warrior spirit.

Thus, Fischer sees the distinctive characters of the four folk cultures in early America as being closer to their popular reputations than to many of the academic "reinterpretations" of the twentieth century. Most regional stereotypes are essentially true to Fischer: The Puritans *were* puritanical, the Virginia leaders *were* cavaliers after all, the Quakers *did* have a special moral character, and the backcountry settlers *did* share a culture of high integrity which "had been tempered in the fire of the British borderlands." Fischer's emigrants were "people of their time and place who had an exceptionally strong sense of themselves, and a soaring spiritual purpose which has been lost beneath many layers of revisionist scholarship" (p. 786).

But how firm a scholarly ground is Fischer on in regard to all of this? For almost one thousand pages Fischer tenaciously and tediously pursues his thesis. By focusing so single-mindedly on England, Fischer lays himself open to the charge that he is offering nothing more than a WASP's eye view of American history while minimizing the centuries of contributions made

by other cultures. Although a second volume will deal with the presence and contributions of African American, native American and Dutch cultures, and a subsequent volume will include Hispanic culture, Fischer's New World in volume one is different than many others. Fischer's New England is substantially different from the one in David D. Hall's recent *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (1989), and his colonial South differs markedly from the one that appears in Glenn Weaver's *The Italian Presence in Colonial Virginia* (1988), or will appear in Jason H. Silverman's *Beyond the Melting Pot in Dixie: Immigration and Ethnicity in Southern History* (forthcoming).

Fischer's claims that Albion's seed continues to maintain great strength in the twentieth century are sometimes premised upon fuzzy evidence. In the absence of direct evidence on this side of the Atlantic, Fischer draws on sources in the regions from which the migrants came. What he refers to as the "colonial mood of cultural nostalgia" reminds one of the work of Marcus Lee Hansen. Years ago, Hansen observed that immigrants tend to cherish and magnify the customs and institutions that they are able to transport along with themselves. In an attempt to sustain their identity in an alien country, they cling to ancient customs long after they have disappeared in the homeland. In this regard, folkways that existed in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Britain may furnish a clue to the cultural character of eighteenth-century America. A clue, however, is not the absolute proof that Fischer claims. In supporting an interpretive framework that is perhaps a bit too tidy, Fischer simply underplays differences within regional cultures. Finally, Fischer presents a thesis that attempts to explain too much.

Fischer's America is not of the melting pot sort. By challenging the notion that American culture is a blending and melting of many different immigrant cultures, Fischer is assaulting the immigrant myth of America. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigrants to America "did not assimilate American culture in general"; instead "they tended to adopt the folkways of the regions in which they settled" (p. 873). Yet Fischer never adequately explains why they should have done so, never completely confirms why the original British regional folkways

should have had so compelling an effect on subsequent non-British immigrants, particularly since his argument rests on the staying power of people's particular cultures. Evidently Fischer believes that the British regional cultures were so deeply rooted and institutionally seated in the colonial period that non-British immigrants over the past two hundred years have simply accepted them on face value. Becoming an American, then, for most immigrants meant becoming a regional variant of an Anglo-American (Fischer even refers at one point to nineteenth- and twentieth-century United States as "Anglo-America").

Any volume, however, that attempts to do all that *Albion's Seed* purports is bound to have its shortcomings. And in the process of dissecting and disagreeing with Fischer we must never minimize the boldness of his assertions or the provocative nature of his thesis. When every exception has been made and every critic heard, this will still be a monumental and seminal achievement. No one has so clearly identified and then differentiated between the four British regional folkways included within the pages of Fischer's volume. If he is to be indicted for belaboring his points he is nevertheless to be commended for forcing other scholars to confront them as he himself shall do in subsequent volumes. Fischer has produced a grand synthesis of the sort that Bernard Bailyn once called for in his 1981 presidential address to the American Historical Association; the kind that brings some coherence to the incoherent mass of historical monographs and specialized studies that have spewed forth from university presses for the past thirty years. Readers will think and rethink about American culture after reading *Albion's Seed* and one cannot, or should not, expect more from an author. Subsequent volumes of Fischer's series will be eagerly anticipated if for no other reason than to observe a master historian at work. Put simply, this is a splendid achievement.

Notes and Documents

Planters and Cotton Production as a Cause of Confederate Defeat: Evidence from Southwest Georgia

BY LEE W. FORMWALT

The question of why the South lost the Civil War has been debated since the surrender at Appomattox 125 years ago. In 1983 economist Stanley Lebergott argued that “the wartime commitment of the planters to growing cotton in excess of what could be sold” undermined the war effort by diverting “millions of man-years of slave labor away from the war effort.” The Confederate government was then forced to adopt conscription and impressment, both of which demoralized a substantial portion of the white population. Despite efforts of the Confederate and state governments to limit cotton production through exhortation and tax legislation, “planters insisted on their right to grow unlimited amounts of cotton; to retain it for sale whenever they chose; and to sell it whenever, and to whomever, they chose.” According to Lebergott, planters were more concerned with private profits, especially those they hoped to reap at the end of the war, than with lending their full support to the cause of southern independence. This led to the curious situation of many planters sending their sons off to fight and die and yet adamantly opposing any effort by the government to impress their slaves for the war effort.¹

In the spring of 1862, eleven months after Fort Sumter and several weeks after the Confederate disasters at Forts Henry and Donelson, southern cotton growers planted one of the largest crops in their history. The spring planting aroused the

¹Stanley Lebergott, “Why the South Lost: Commercial Purpose in the Confederacy, 1861-1865,” *Journal of American History* 70 (June 1983): 58-74, quotes on pp. 74, 69.

MR. FORMWALT is professor of history at Albany State College.

ire of some Georgians who felt that the planters' profit-seeking should be put on hold so that southern fields could be planted in grains and other provision crops to feed the Confederate troops.²

One of those who voiced his concerns was forty-three year old Frederick Burtz of Albany, Georgia. A native of South Carolina, young Burtz and his family had moved to Cherokee County in north Georgia less than a decade after its creation in 1830. By 1850, Burtz and his wife Sarah were working their thousand dollar farm and raising their two daughters. The prosperous 1850s brought two more daughters and a son and commercial opportunity in southwest Georgia. About late 1857, Burtz decided to give up his farm and move to Albany, southwest Georgia's boomtown, where he and George Burtz offered their services as sign and house painters. In early 1858 Frederick entered into the auction and commission business with S. P. Grinnell. Described as steady and industrious "common countrymen" but with little or no means, Grinnell and Burtz operated a small firm with a limited credit rating. By 1859 Burtz was in another partnership, this time with Thomas F. Hampton, but his financial situation had not improved and the firm was dissolved in less than a year. In early 1860 Burtz was operating a family grocery business on his own, but this also failed and by April he had sold out. When his former partner Thomas Hampton took the federal census in June, he listed Burtz as a painter. By 1862 he resumed his mercantile career and formed a partnership of Broadaway & Burtz.³

When the Civil War broke out, Burtz joined the vast majority of Albany residents in championing the Confederate cause. Perhaps his age, but more than likely his concern for the economic well-being of his wife and five children, prevented him from volunteering in that great tidal wave of patriotism

²In fact, later that spring, the army's meat ration was reduced from twelve to eight ounces. Lebergott, "Why the South Lost," 66.

³U. S. Census, 1840, manuscript schedule, Cherokee Co., Ga.; U. S. Census, 1850, manuscript schedule 1, Cherokee Co., Ga.; U. S. Census, 1860, manuscript schedule 1, Dougherty Co., Ga.; *Albany Patriot*, January 28, 1858; Georgia Vol. 10, 258-59, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration; Alexander S. Lippitt to F. M. Thompson, promissary note, February 15, 1862, Lippitt Papers, Throneateska Heritage Foundation, Albany, Ga.

HAMPTON & BURTZ,

COMMISSON MERCHANTS,

—OPPOSITE BYINGTON'S HOTEL—


Albany, Georgia,

ARE NOW RECEIVING a large
Stock of **GROCERIES**,
consisting in part, of the following:



. A large lot of fresh Northern Mess
Beef, "Blue Fish," a new article, pickled Pigs' Feet,
Bacon, Flour, Lard. Also, Champagne and Cham-
pagne Cider, Madeira and all other Wines, Brandies,
Whiskey, Gin, and other Liquors of a superior qual-
ity. Also, all kinds of Cordials used as a summer
beverage.

A large lot of the best Havana Cigars of various
and approved brands, together with a general as-
sortment of Sugars, Coffee, Rice, Candles, Soap, and
all other articles usually kept in a Family Grocery.

 The highest cash price will be paid for Hides,
Wool, Tallow, or other Country Produce, or the
same taken in barter for Goods.

All of which will be sold on the most liberal terms.
Our friends in the city and country are earnestly
requested to give us a call.

May 19, 1859.

8—

This advertisement for Frederick Burtz's mercantile opera-
tion, which appeared in the *Albany Patriot* in May 1859, indi-
cates the wide range of products it bought and sold.

that engulfed the South in the spring of 1861. He remained in Albany and kept abreast of the war news. As a merchant, he was very familiar with cotton production in Dougherty and the surrounding counties as well as the various commodities that southwest Georgia growers bought for their plantations. What alarmed Burtz as the war entered its second year was that many of the planters continued to grow cotton rather than provision crops. His north Georgia yeoman background may have influenced his animus towards the planters, and their failure to shift to grain crops led Burtz to view them as almost an enemy within the Confederacy. Other enemies within were the local merchants who Burtz judged were taking advantage of the growing scarcity of certain commodities and jacking up their prices. Again, Burtz's own failure to compete successfully with these merchants just before the war may have contributed to his negative judgments of their motives.

Across the state, the question of raising cotton instead of grain became a public topic for debate as the 1862 planting season commenced. Governor Joseph E. Brown argued that cotton production should be curtailed not only to grow needed provision crops, but also to prevent a large cotton surplus from tempting the enemy to make greater military efforts to seize this valuable prize.⁴ Public meetings around the state approved resolutions condemning the continued planting of cotton. And yet, in Burtz's opinion, too many planters in southwest Georgia put their own interests before those of the people and planned to plant cotton. He decided that the governor should be informed of the situation in southwest Georgia and on March 29, 1862 he wrote Brown the letter printed below.⁵

Albany, Ga., March 29th 1862.

Gov. J. E. Brown.
Milledgeville, Ga.

Dear Sir,

Under the circumstances, I hope you will suffer me to intrude a little upon your time and attention, which I know is already heavily taxed, but we are in great danger of *Subjugation* to the hated government that we are resisting, *not* by the army of demons invading our country, but by *avarice* and the *menial Subjects* of King cotton. Notwithstanding *your* monitory letter,⁶ the *resolutions* of a great many county meetings *not* to plant cotton, and to plant a *provision* crop this year, comon sense reasoning in every croud of men, and famine now stairing us in the face, there are yet many planters who persist in planting cotton! Below I give the statistics of the amount of several articles (that cannot conveniently be dis-

⁴Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 187-88.

⁵Burtz and Brown may well have known each other since both had lived in Cherokee County for a number of years. The letter is in Governors' Incoming Correspondence, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta. The following transcription is an accurate reproduction of the original with the following minor changes made for the sake of clarity and understanding: each sentence begins with a capital letter, periods have been added after abbreviations, and commas have been supplied between components of a series where missing.

⁶On February 25, 1862, in a letter to Linton Stephens, Governor Brown warned that "If we plant the usual cotton crop, . . . we are in great danger of being conquered, not for the want of arms, or men to use them . . . but for want of provisions." The letter was published in several newspapers including the *Southern Federal Union* (Milledgeville), Extra, March 4, 1862, and the *Savannah Daily Morning News*, March 3, 1862. Parks, *Brown*, 187-88; T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1953), 120.

pensed with,) that was taken out of the depot in this place last year, and last season fell as far short of producing the necessities of life, as the year before, which leaves us as far short for this year's consumption, as we were last. Those articles were nearly all shipped from west of the state of Tennessee, from whence we cannot supply the deficit this year, nor next.⁷ Besides the articles numerated, there were a great many others that supplied a place that otherwise would have augmented the importation to a considerable extent of such as are numerated, such as cheese, Goshen Butter, fish, wheat bran, beans, fruits, barley and potatoes, none of which, have we the benefit of this year, nor will have while the war lasts.

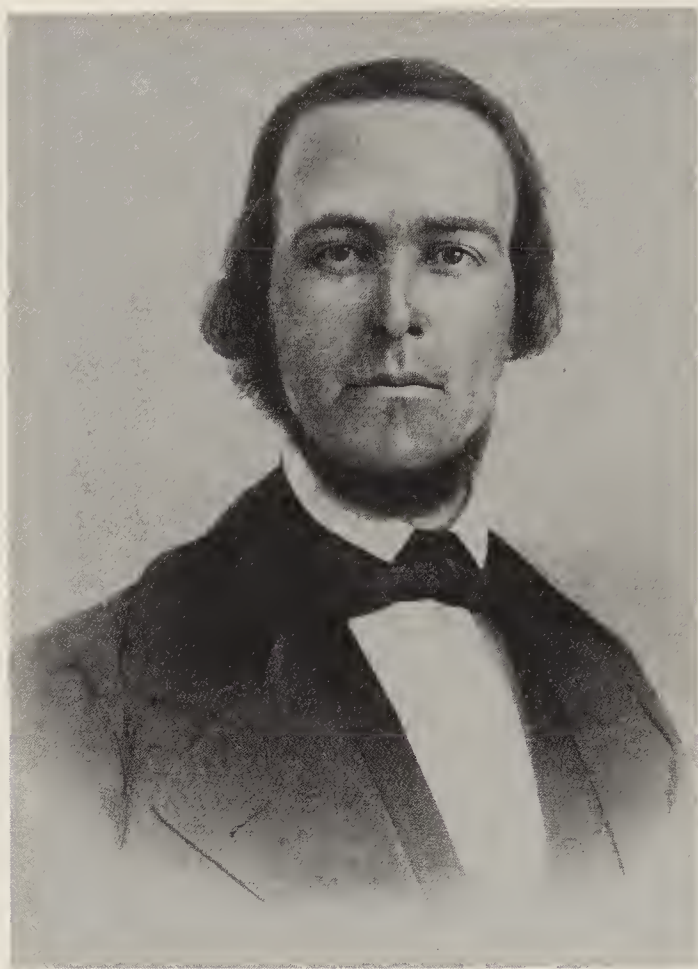
There were taken out of the RR depot at this place⁸ last year, by Merchants and planters for consumption in, by no means a large district of country, 3,477 1/2 Bbls. flour, 24,148 Bushels corn, 1,148 Bushels meal, 3,026 Bushels oats, 242 Bushels Rye, 524 Bushels wheat, 520,200 lbs. Bacon, 21 Bbls. and 164 kegs lard, 221 Bbls. Pork, 6 1/2 beef. The above importations were principally consumed in Dougherty, Baker, Mitchell and Worth Counties. Now, I think, from the best information I can get, that it is fair to estimate the whole state at, at least one third that ratio, which would show the state, (without the extra amount consumed, and wasted in camp life over that which would be used by the same persons under good economy at home,) to be, for this year short of the necessary supplies about, in corn 265,628 Bushels, meal 12,628 Bushels, oats 55,286 Bushels, Rye 2,662 Bushels, wheat 26,200 Bushels, Flour 38,247 Bbls.! Bacon 5,722,200 lbs., Lard 643 Bbls. and 5,412 Kegs, Pork 2,421 Bbls., and 200 Bbls. beef!⁹

I suppose, as we have no place to import the above deficiency from, we must do without it, but the [po]or will suffer, for it is them that will have to do without. Those unpatriotic men in our midst who are engaged in buying up and holding the necessities of life, and who fears not God nor sympathise with humanity, have priced nearly all kinds of provisions so high, that the poor cannot buy them, and continue to *advance* in the price, insomuch that it seems that an appeal to some kind of authorities will have to be resorted to, to suppress it, and in the midst of this knowl-

⁷Confederate defeats at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson in February put Kentucky and central Tennessee under Union control. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union: War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863* (New York, 1960), 22-27.

⁸The depot at Albany was built five years earlier when the first rail line to the city was completed. The building still stands and is part of the Thronton Heritage Foundation railroad complex.

⁹It is unclear how Burtz arrived at these estimates. The figures for corn, meal, rye, flour, bacon, and pork are eleven times the amounts of those items shipped to Albany. But the figure for oats is approximately eighteen times the Albany figure, for wheat fifty times, and for lard and beef approximately thirty times.



Governor Joseph E. Brown (above) pushed for wartime limitations on cotton production in Georgia, a concern that Frederick Burtz shared in his 1862 letter to the governor. *Portrait courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.*

edge, even here in this small county, of two Militia districts, I here of one planter who is pitching 900 acres in cotton, the overseer of another told me he is going to plant 300 acres, another (with ten [stumps] of hands,) 90 acres, another, fifteen hand 90 acres, another 300 acres, and two others full crops of cotton! And so it will be all over the state. Now bear with me 'till I make a sugestion, as you (being the commanderinchief and Governor of the state,) have a right to *suppress* any thing that is contrary to the public good, in time of War, you could stop short the cotton planting in Georgia, and make each planter who are planting his land in cotton give his bond and security to plant it with corn, and cultivate it well, or rent his land to

parties that would, by proclaiming Martial law for the whole State, and continue it until planting time is over. The country needs all the grain that can be raised, the producing forces, both in men and horses are greatly diminished, while the demand for grain is increased. I hope your Excellency will adopt some plan to stop those internal enemies of the country, for they will whip us sooner than all Lincolndom combined could do it. I believe if we were rid of our Shilocks,¹⁰ and our planters forced to raise grain, that there is no possible chance for Lincoln to subdue the south.

I hope you will pardon the latitude I have taken with you, for if something is not done soon, it will be too late to stop cotton planting.

Yours truly,
Fred. Burtz.

It was too late for the governor or the legislature to stop the cotton planting in 1862, but they could do something about the next season. In November, Governor Brown recommended that the legislature tax planters on any cotton they grew beyond what was necessary for home consumption. Instead, the legislature limited the amount of cotton a grower could plant to three acres for each worker with a penalty of five hundred dollars for each acre above the legal limit. Brown attempted several times to reduce the allotment to a quarter acre, but the legislature retained the three-acre limit throughout the war.¹¹

Although Brown and others thought too much cotton was still being planted after 1862, the legislation limiting cotton production forced most growers to shift to grain and other crops. Corn production in southwest Georgia increased significantly and the region soon became the Confederacy's breadbasket.¹² But not all southern states legally limited cotton production, and even in Georgia, a number of planters did not abide by the three-acre per hand allotment.¹³

¹⁰The anti-Semitic aspect of this epithet applied to the Albany mercantile community which included Jewish merchants Fred Lehman, Henry Schurr, E. Rosenwald & Bros., and J. Dittenhoeffer, among others.

¹¹Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 121-22; Parks, *Brown*, 225, 233-34.

¹²Brown to T. D. Key, March 11, 1863, Governors' Letterbooks, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta; Parks, *Brown*, 267, 233. W.E.B. DuBois noted that the region around Albany became known as the "Egypt of the Confederacy" because of its production of provision crops for the Confederate troops. *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York, 1969, c1903), 152-53.

¹³Parks, *Brown*, 233.

The continued production of cotton undermined the Confederate war effort in several ways. Slaves who planted cotton could have helped dig trenches or build fortifications, if not actually fight with the southern troops. The shortage of military manpower, however, led to the government's adoption of conscription, a policy that weakened morale in a war weary South. Another policy that further weakened morale was government impressment of crops, livestock, and other needed items. Had more cotton fields been planted in corn and hay, impressment might have been more limited. When Confederate officials did attempt to purchase cotton in order to exchange it for needed supplies, they found few planters willing to sell for the government price. Many planters were holding out for the end of the war when high prices would make them a fortune. Other planters could not wait—they traded with the enemy. Over a half million bales of cotton were smuggled across Yankee lines during the war.¹⁴

Southwest Georgia planters were not close enough to the enemy lines to engage in any widespread smuggling, and the evidence suggests that most of them abided by the law and planted most of their lands in provision crops. But the refusal of many of these planters to abandon large-scale cotton planting before 1863, and their insistence on planting the maximum allotment of three acres per man in cotton afterwards, suggests how committed many of these planters were to personal profit. That commitment of southern planters contributed significantly to the loss of morale and ultimately to the defeat of the Confederate nation.¹⁵

¹⁴Lebergott, "Why the South Lost," 71-72.

¹⁵For the most comprehensive and recent study of this topic, see Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, Ga., 1986).

Georgia History in Pictures

A British “Grand Tour” of Crackerland: Basil and Margaret Hall View Frontier Georgia in 1828

BY F. N. BONEY

Great Britain emerged as the world’s mightiest nation in the nineteenth century. Her empire spanned the globe, and her navy ruled the waves—the old clichés had the ring of truth for generations. Many of Britain’s elite left home to conquer and administer distant lands, and the British aristocracy also



In his *Forty Etchings* Basil Hall labeled this scene “Two Slave Drivers and a Backwoodsman with his Rifle.” The black at the left, possibly at Thomas Heyward’s plantation, was a “man of information, and really well bred—though he could neither read nor write.” At the right stood a Georgia slave, “a native African, born near Timbuctoo,” captured at twelve, and still bearing claw marks of a lion. In the center was an Indiana backwoodsman, a true squatter. Hall added that this type was called a “Cracker” in Georgia.

Mr. Boney is professor of history at the University of Georgia.

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On March 9, 1828, the Halls spent their last night in South Carolina at the plantation house of William Heyward (above) between the Coosawhatchie and Savannah rivers. No whites were present, but black slaves received them hospitably. The next morning they traveled the final thirty miles to Savannah, Georgia.

produced some of history's most determined, relentless tourists.¹

Basil Hall and his wife Margaret were among these restless, inquisitive aristocrats who surged out to see the world—but always from a very proper British perspective. Born in 1788, the second son of a Scottish lord, Hall received his education in Edinburgh and joined the Royal Navy in 1802. After long overseas service, especially in the New World, he made captain in 1817, a year after becoming a fellow of the Royal Society. He retired from the navy in 1823 and two years later married Margaret Hunter, another elite Scot. He had already published a popular two-volume account of his tours of duty in South America, and his new wife had also gained a taste for overseas adventure as a teenager when her father served as consul-general in Spain. The birth of the first of their three children hardly cramped their style, and early in 1827 they planned a

¹See, for example, Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America: 1785-1835* (New York, 1922).

tour of the former North American colonies that had become the United States.²

They landed at New York City in May 1827 with fifteen-month-old Eliza and her nurse, Mrs. Cownie, and began their “grand tour” of the new nation, armed with more than a hundred letters of introduction to prominent Americans. They traveled widely in New York, New England and nearby Canada and then headed south through Philadelphia toward the land of slavery, an institution they abhorred. By December they reached Baltimore, and as the new year of 1828 dawned they toured Washington, D.C. They then passed through Richmond and Norfolk and on southward through the Carolinas. Everywhere they went they met wealthy, influential Americans, the nearest thing the egalitarian new nation had to a real aristocracy, but they also mixed with the multitudes, observing everything closely—and usually very critically. From their Old World, elitist perspective America seemed raw, crude and virtually classless, and when they returned home Captain Hall published their impressions rather candidly, creating a storm of indignation back across the Atlantic in the former colonies.³

In many ways the most dramatic phase of their American odyssey began as they approached Georgia, the newest, rawest and least settled of the original thirteen states of the Union. In early March the Halls saw Charleston and then laboriously moved down the coast toward the Savannah River. They spent their last night in South Carolina at a large plantation house, then crossed the river, entering Savannah on March 10.

Three days later they proceeded southward, all four riding in a rugged two-horse coach with a driver named Middleton, whose son Charles followed in a one-horse wagon loaded with baggage and incidentals. They passed through Riceborough and Darien and then went by boat to John Couper’s large rice and cotton plantation on St. Simons Island. Two days later they returned to the mainland and traveled a few miles west to Hopeton, the large plantation of his eldest son, James Hamilton

²Una Pope-Hennessy, *The Aristocratic Journey: Being the Letters of Mrs. Basil Hall Written during a Fourteen Months’ Sojourn in America 1827-1828* (New York, 1931), 3-9; *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1890), XXIV, “Hall, Basil.”

³Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 6-8; Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh, 1829). See all three volumes and especially the map in the front of volume 1.

Couper. After a similar visit they went back to Darien, which Margaret Hall described as “a pretty little village” that seemed to be dying.⁴

They returned to Riceborough on March 20, and the next day they headed west into the wild interior of Georgia. Already they had seen many strange sights and unusual customs in America, where they had mingled freely with a new, hybrid folk, a crude, optimistic people who chewed tobacco, bolted down greasy food, clumped together easily, talked incessantly, and deferred to nobody. The Halls had already been introduced to the immense land and its voracious bugs and insects, but now they would experience backwoods, frontier America with a vengeance.

The seemingly endless pine barrens awed them for days as they groped along nearly invisible trails. They spent the nights in primitive cabins which often functioned as informal way stations for weary travelers for small fees—a kind of backwoods bed-and-breakfast arrangement, Cracker style. The Britishers kept a stiff upper lip, remaining healthy and game, and by March 25 they emerged from the depths of the pine barrens and spent the night at Dublin—“a little shabby place” in Margaret Hall’s opinion.⁵

The Halls seemed unaware that many Americans still carried bitter memories of two wars with Britain, and perhaps Margaret Hall was also a little short-tempered with fatigue when she denounced American attitudes “particularly in those Southern States, where the manners of the secondary classes are more disagreeable, gruff & boorish, than anything I ever saw elsewhere.” But the Halls persevered, kept moving west and two days later entered Macon, a new town in an area held by the Creek Indians at the beginning of the decade.⁶

⁴Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 216-34; Hall, *Travels*, 3: 200-204, 212-19, 248-52; Margaret H. Hall to “My dearest Jane” (her sister), March 6, 1828, Jacksonburgh, South Carolina, finished March 13, 1828, Savannah, Georgia; and Hall to “Jane,” March 13, 1828, Savannah, Georgia, finished April 10, 1828, Mobile, Alabama, numbers 20 and 21, Margaret Hunter Hall Papers, Library of Congress. The quotation is from very long letter number 21 under the subheading “Darien Georgia 19th March.”

⁵Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 234-37; Hall, *Travels*, 3: 248-76; Hall to “Jane,” March 13, finished April 10, 1828, Margaret Hall Papers. The quotation is from letter number 21 under the subheading “25th March.”

⁶Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 236-37; Hall, *Travels*, 3: 275-76; Hall to “Jane,” March 13, finished April 10, 1828, Margaret Hall Papers. The quotation is under the subheading “25th March” and can also be found in Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 236.



After crossing the river by ferry and reaching Savannah by canoe, the Halls went to the City Hotel. They met a good number of English and Scot residents during their three-day visit. Hall found Savannah a "showy town" while his wife thought it "a very pretty place, quite like an English village with its grass walks and rows of trees on each side of the street." Hall made this sketch from the top of the Exchange building looking downstream.

There everyone got some much-needed rest in relatively comfortable surroundings with facilities for bathing and washing clothes. But the following morning they set off again, and by March 28 they had reached the Old Creek Agency on the Flint River. The next morning they crossed over by ferry and entered territory only recently evacuated by the Creeks. On March 31 they crossed the Chattahoochee River and had a late breakfast at Fort Mitchell in Creek country. Then they went north along the river for a few miles and crossed back into Georgia to see the pre-planned, not-quite-born town of Columbus at the fall line.⁷

The next day, April 1, they crossed the river again and left Georgia forever. During their last three months in America they continued west through Alabama to Mobile and went on to New Orleans. Then they followed the great Mississippi northward into the old Middle West. Finally they came east along the Ohio River to Pittsburgh and continued on east through Harrisburg and Philadelphia to New York City, where on July 1, 1828, the three weary aristocrats and their nanny boarded the *Corinthian* bound for Britain; their American odyssey had ended.⁸

⁷Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 237-40; Hall, *Travels*, 3: 276-87; Hall to "Jane," March 13, finished April 10, 1828, Margaret Hall Papers.

⁸Pope-Hennessy, *Journey*, 240-99; Hall, *Travels*, 3: 288-436.

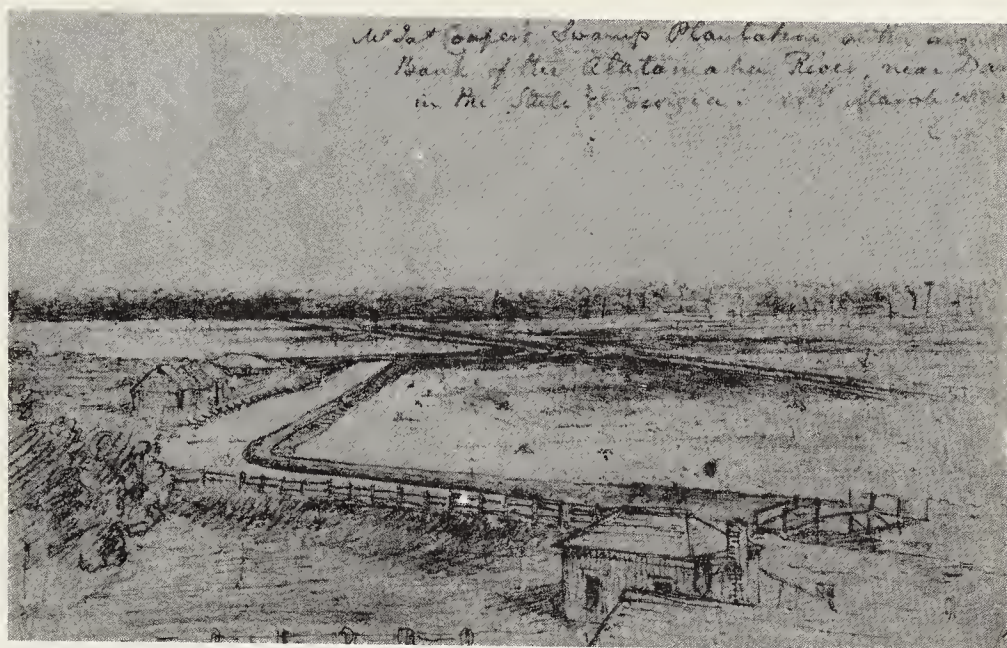
Back home they had plenty to talk and write about. They had seen much of new America and gotten an especially close look at Georgia from its biggest city and large coastal plantations to its seemingly endless backwoods regions. Captain Hall published his *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828* in three volumes in 1829 and immediately followed up with *Forty Etchings, from Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida, in North America, in 1827 and 1828*, which included only a small percentage of the drawings he made on the trip. The camera lucida was a device for allowing the talented amateur to achieve better proportion and perspective by using a prism mounted over a drawing board so that the image the artist observed was superimposed on the board for tracing. Not everyone found this technique practical, but Hall used it in all of his sketches.⁹

In both of his books Captain Hall gave perceptive but limited coverage to Georgia. His wife Margaret wrote extensive, thoughtful letters to her sister Jane that described daily life in America in considerably greater detail, and a century later, in 1931, Una Pope-Hennessy published much of this correspondence in a volume entitled *The Aristocratic Journey*. Mrs. Hall's complete original handwritten letters are housed at the Library of Congress, and they tell the most complete verbal story.

But Captain Hall's sketches, housed in the Lilly Library at Indiana University, tell the most dramatic story of all. They vividly reveal the day-to-day reality of early American life, and they add a unique visual dimension to the Halls' dramatic odyssey. All but a few of the more faded Georgia sketches are presented here, and they are accompanied by captions which include some of Margaret Hall's most memorable comments. And thus the reader is transported back to a very different Georgia, a new, evolving culture struggling to emerge into the mainstream of American and western European civilization.¹⁰

⁹For more detail on the camera lucida see *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography* (London & New York, 1965), 1: 144; and *The Encyclopedia of Photography* (New York, 1963), 3: 512. Hall's *Travels* was published in Edinburgh in 1829 and his *Forty Etchings*, the same year in London.

¹⁰The author wishes to thank the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, for providing photographs of the Hall sketches of Georgia and for granting permission to use them in this article.



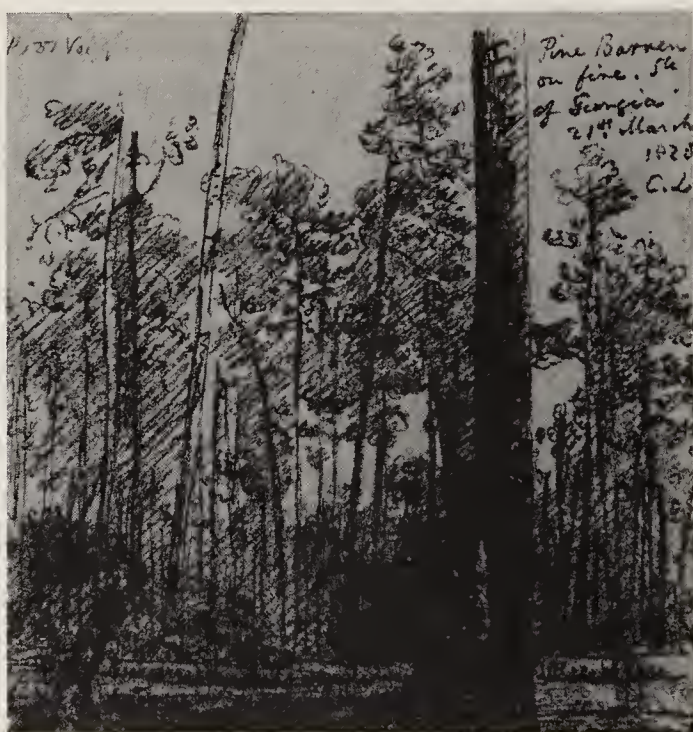
After a visit to St. Simons Island, the Halls spent several days at Hopeton, the large, swamp plantation of James Hamilton Couper at the mouth of the Altamaha River near Darien. It produced rice, sugar cane and especially fine quality cotton. When Basil Hall made this sketch on March 16, the river had flooded some of the fields.



Couper, the Halls' host, had formal manners but was not at all reserved and talked at length on every subject. He carefully regulated his slave laborers and his fields. The master of Hopeton plantation was obviously quite wealthy, but he and his sixteen-year-old bride lived in a plain house, described by Margaret as "a mere pigeon-hole," and sketched by Basil on March 19.



The Halls rested briefly in the little town of Riceborough on March 20. Basil Hall thought it a pretty village with its pride-of-India trees and frame houses with shingle roofs. In this sketch he included a few of the wandering pigs that little Eliza Hall so loved.



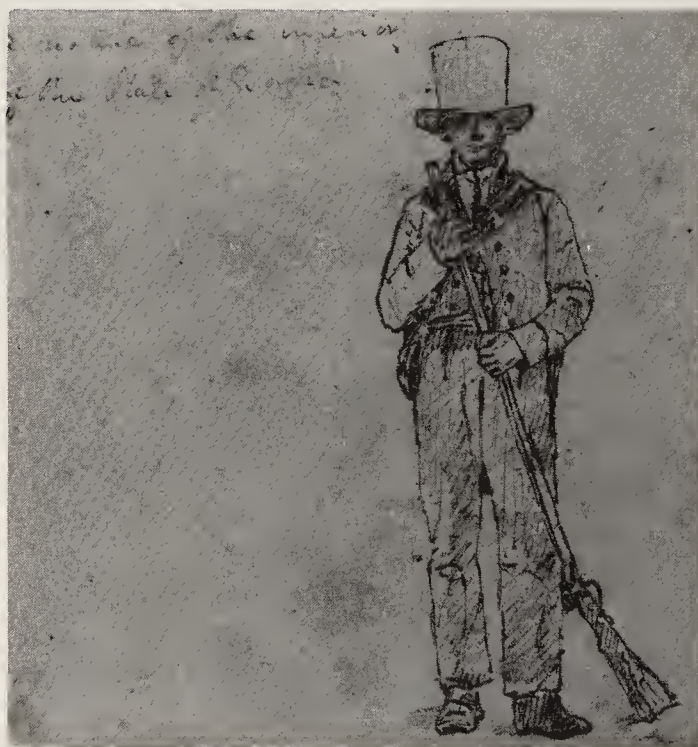
Striking west into the huge pine barrens, the Halls entered a strange new world of sandy soil, wire grass and endless pine forests sometimes so thick that the sunlight could barely penetrate. The monotony was occasionally broken by large fires, and on March 21 Hall sketched an area that was still burning as they passed through the smoke and heat.



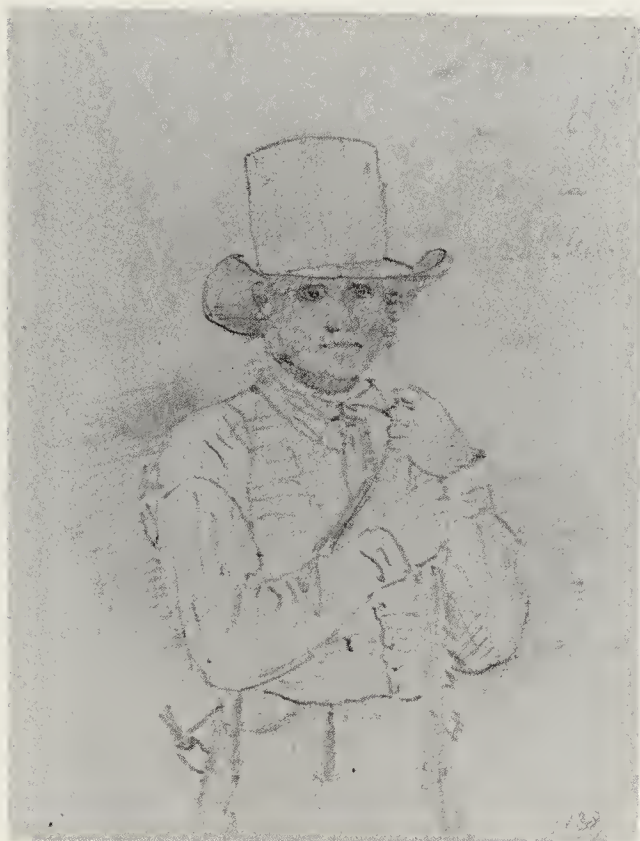
By March 22 the Halls had reached Tattall County some forty miles inland, and there they stayed at the primitive home of Joseph Collins. The large family was intrigued by Hall's camera lucida apparatus, so he made sketches of some of them: at the right their host with his son George Washington Collins and to the left two other of his six sons.



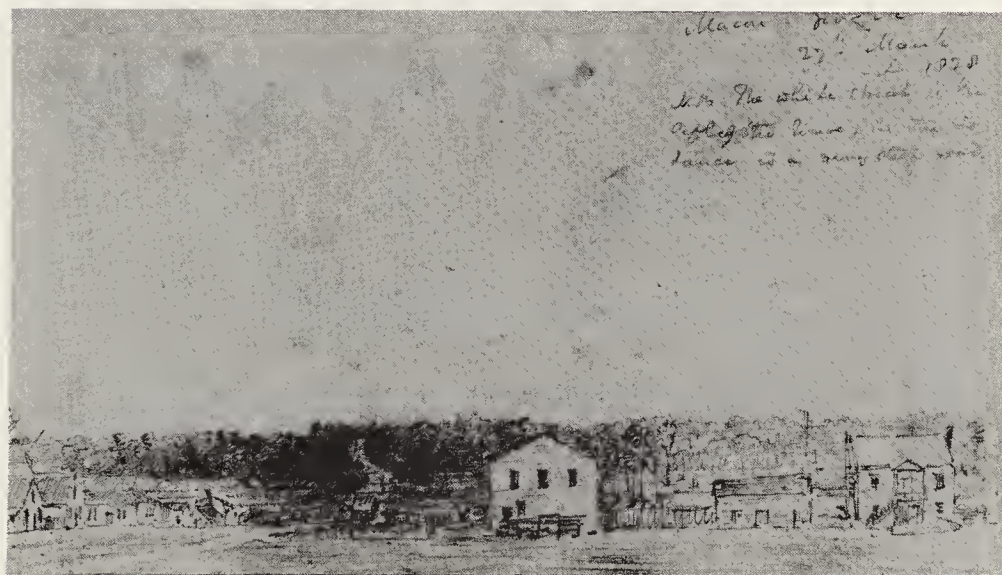
After two weary days on terrible roads the Halls had moved almost a hundred miles west when they stayed at the home of Mr. Ricks in Emanuel County on March 24. Margaret Hall described it as "a log hut of the rudest description, except that the logs instead of being round inside, are cut smooth." Inside, the house was plain but very clean, and the Halls rested well.



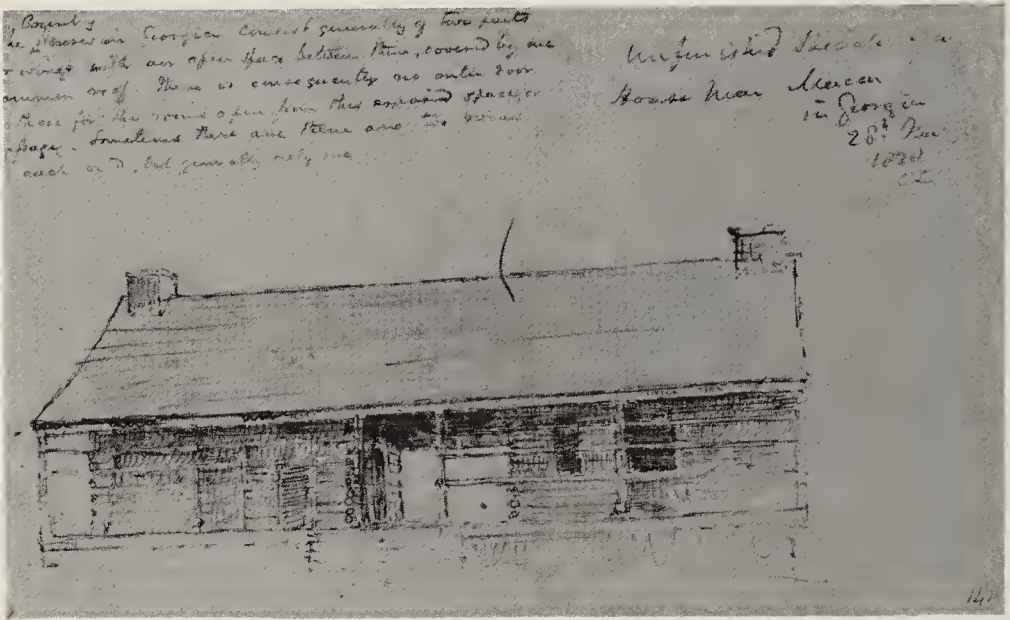
The Ricks family was friendly, considerate and mannerly, and Mr. Ricks posed proudly in his hunting clothes with his trusty rifle which also appeared in the sketch above. He seems almost identical to the Indiana squatter Hall sketched earlier.



While at the home of Mr. Ricks, the Halls met other backwoods folk, and Basil Hall sketched Mr. Webb holding his rifle and wearing hunting attire very much like that worn by Ricks and the Indiana squatter.



By March 27 the Halls had cleared the pine barrens and reached the new town of Macon on the Ocmulgee River. After spending the night, washing up, and getting their carriage repaired, they continued west the next day. Margaret Hall predicted (erroneously) that the slave system would soon lead to the decay of would-be-cities like Macon.



On March 28 Basil Hall sketched this typical frontier “dog trot” house in an area west of Macon only recently evacuated by the Creek Indians. As his handwriting in the upper left indicates, it has two wings under one roof with an open space through the middle, and each wing usually contains only one room.



On March 29 Basil Hall sketched this crude log cabin near the Flint River as he and his family penetrated farther and farther west into the new lands of Georgia.



At 8 A.M. on March 29 the Halls crossed the Flint River and entered territory abandoned by the Creek Indians only two years earlier. Margaret Hall observed "the soil was infinitely better, and the country much more varied and pretty." Basil Hall sketched this split log bridge across Paschelagee Creek about five miles west of the Flint River.



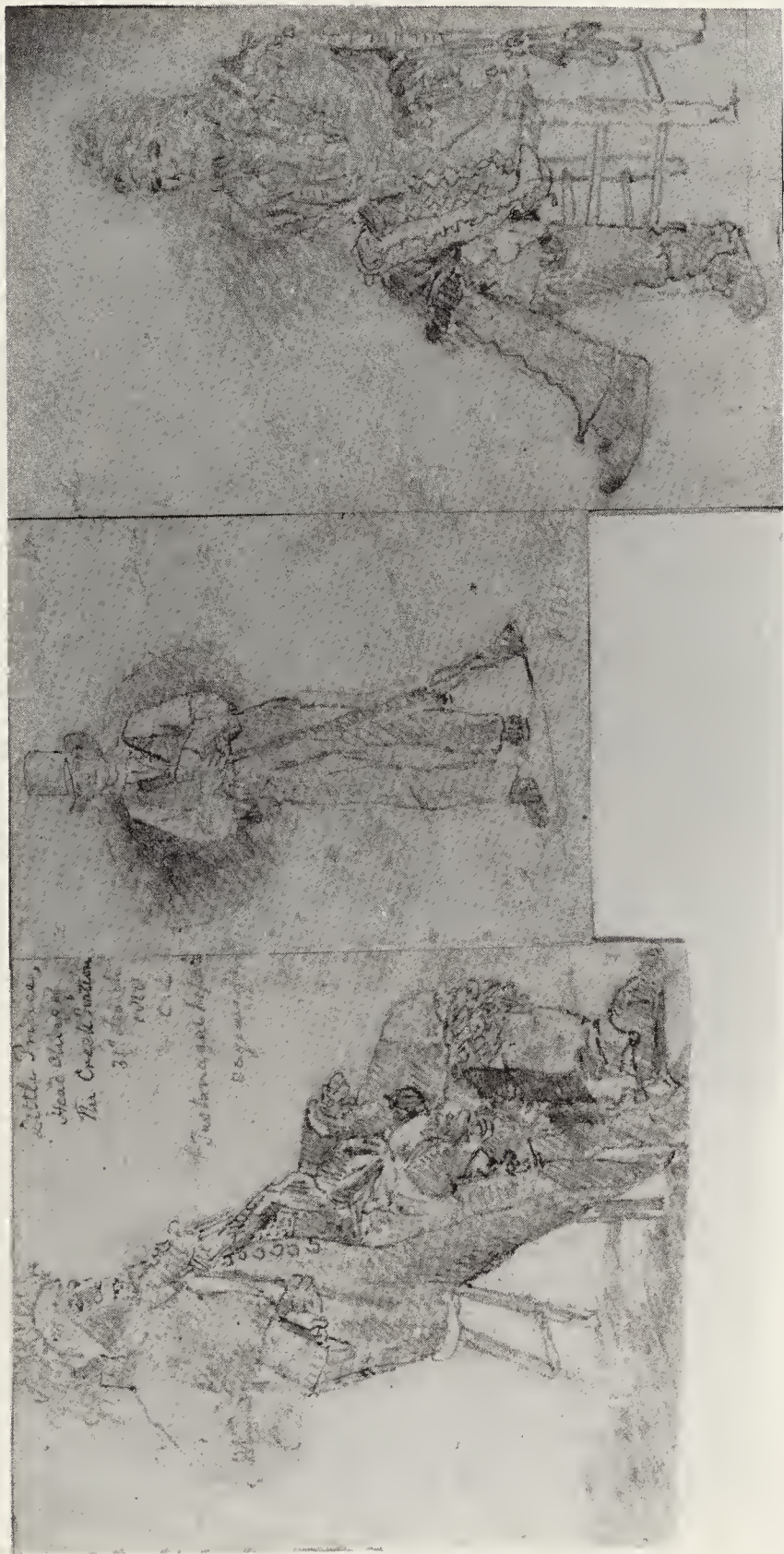
The Halls continued west along the federal road which Margaret Hall labeled "a worse road if possible than before." They stopped on the evening of March 29 near Fort Perry, about twenty-five miles west of the Flint River. Basil Hall sketched the frontier farmstead where they slept.



On March 30 the Halls pushed on toward the Chattahoochee River and stopped for the night at "10 Mile House," approximately that distance from the river. This was the worst place they had stayed since they left the pine barrens. Their room had a warped floor and no windows, but large holes let in plenty of air (and cold and insects).



On March 31 the Halls crossed the Chattahoochee back into Georgia and visited the "Embryo Town of Columbus." Margaret commented: "Basil says that he has seen a town without inhabitants, but never until now, saw inhabitants without a town." He sketched the strange scene which included surveyed streets, temporary structures and almost a thousand squatters waiting for the sale of town lots in the summer.



Early on March 31 the Halls had crossed the Chatahoochee and visited at Fort Mitchell in Creek country. There they met Little Prince, a Creek chief whom Margaret Hall described as "in his ordinary dress, and three or four days old beard, and looked shabby enough, but sufficiently strange to frighten poor Eliza." Basil Hall sketched him (left), another Creek chief (right) a few days later, and (center) their conqueror, an anonymous Georgia squatter he labeled a "Cracker."



The Halls had left Georgia forever and almost reached Montgomery, Alabama when on April 4, Basil Hall sketched the sturdy, reliable carriage that had carried them across the whole state and the loyal driver Middleton who had successfully navigated incredibly bad roads all the way.

Book Reviews

Oglethorpe in Perspective: Georgia's Founder after Two Hundred Years. Edited by Phinizy Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. Pp. xiv, 244. Illustrations, maps, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$26.95.)

The collection of nine essays commemorates the two hundredth anniversary of James Edward Oglethorpe, characterized as "America's least known founding father" (p. 3). The "perspective" provided by the passing of two centuries is necessarily that of the contributors, all of them contemporary scholars. Six stalwarts of colonial Georgia history set the tone: Kenneth Coleman, Louis De Vorsey, Jr., Betty Wood, Edward J. Cashin, and editors Phinizy Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson. Most of the ten contributors draw on their published as well as unpublished scholarship to address some facet of Oglethorpe's activities or his Georgia legacy.

In the opening essay, "Circles in the Sand: Perspectives on the Southern Frontier at the Arrival of James Oglethorpe," Peter H. Wood rambles amiably, and purposefully, to establish the antiquity of the southern frontier (two centuries old when Oglethorpe arrived) and the breadth of the Deep South which grew in its wake, reaching from the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico to East Texas and the Ohio River. Drawing on his demographic studies, Wood counters Anglocentrism by showing that Georgia's first English settlers arrived when the population of the Deep South was at its all time low, largely the result of Indian depopulation. At the opposite end chronologically, the penultimate essay is by Kenneth Coleman, whose work in Revolutionary era Georgia affords his ease of discourse in comparing Oglethorpe with Georgia's last colonial governor, James Wright.

Essays by Phinizy Spalding and Betty Wood typify the suggestive insights and nuances which accomplished scholars, following for the most part well-worn paths, bring to the familiar landscape. Thus Wood, in "James Edward Oglethorpe, Race, and Slavery: A Reassessment," reaffirms that the Trustees' initial ban on slavery sprang from their vision of a society of yeoman farmers and did not oppose slavery *per se*; but she plumbs a single Oglethorpe letter to argue that he opposed slavery because he believed that Africans had a natural right to freedom. She further speculates that Oglethorpe framed his opposition to Georgia slavery in non-inclusive terms out of pragmatic considerations. In "Oglethorpe, William Stephens, and the Origin of Georgia Politics," Spalding lucidly delineates Stephens's service as the Trustees' resident secretary, focusing on his reluctant decision to side with Oglethorpe and the other Trustees over "malcontent" issues, particularly land tenure and slavery. Spalding ventures that the fac-

tionalism of Georgia politics originated in the settlers' attitude for and against the Trustees' policies and sees Oglethorpe's strong personality as the catalyst for such division. He concludes that Stephens's decision to support Oglethorpe (and keep his job) further divided the Georgians, but he does not indicate that a contrary decision by the secretary—to support the "malcontents"—would have been any less divisive.

While the "perspective" that the title promises is a late twentieth-century one, the collection also provides perspective in the form of discourses into Oglethorpe's England. Thus Oglethorpe's well-known enlargement and protection of his own authority is viewed by Hardy Jackson, as far as it related to Anglican clergymen, in the light of the contemporary English squire's oversight of his local parson. In "Parson and Squire: James Oglethorpe and the Role of the Anglican Church in Georgia, 1733-1736," Jackson observes that Oglethorpe valued the colony's religious life less than its stability and defense. Jackson concludes that the "malcontents" resisted the Church of England because they perceived it as an instrument of Trustee control. Geographer Louis De Vorsey, Jr., studying the impact of maps on British policy, shows how a map was altered to Oglethorpe's specifications in order to secure a parliamentary subsidy for Georgia. De Vorsey echoes Peter Wood's emphasis on French, rather than Spanish, prospects for expansion in the southern frontier, an emphasis affirmed subsequently by Cashin's essay.

The most overtly biographical piece is "James Oglethorpe in Europe: Recent Findings in His Military Life," by Rodney M. Baine and Mary E. Williams. Using hints from James Boswell's notes for a projected biography of Oglethorpe and tracing him through an alias (John Tebay, derived from "Tybee") and a nickname ("RoastBeef"), they locate Oglethorpe in the service of Frederick the Great during the late 1750s.

The newest research, at least to this reviewer, is reported by Edwin L. Jackson in "The Search for Authentic Icons of James Edward Oglethorpe," last of the nine essays. Jackson examines nineteen visual depictions of Georgia's founder, delineating between originals and copies, documenting the authenticity of contemporary portraits, and explaining the interesting remainder. The earliest age at which Oglethorpe is depicted is twenty-two years in a reputed copy of a 1718 original made while he was aide-de-camp to Prince Eugene of Savoy. Four months before his death at age eighty-eight, Oglethorpe was sketched hastily by a friend as he sat reading a book during the auction of the library of Samuel Johnson, who had also been a friend of the old philanthropist and imperialist. One infers from Jackson's iconography that the most careful and accurate likeness of Oglethorpe in his prime is the bust on the 1737 "Christian Hero" Prize Medal (British Museum). Jackson accords similar respect to the Thomas

Burford mezzotint (c.1743-1745, British Museum) which has more than any other contemporary likenesses influenced subsequent representations of Oglethorpe. Jackson's piece is a series of brief essays, not a sterile catalog. Most notable is his elucidation of William Hogarth's 1729 sketch and oil painting of the Gaols Committee at Fleet Prison.

The editors' claim that a "more decisive" Oglethorpe emerges from the collection is borne out most strongly by Edward Cashin's essay, "Oglethorpe's Contest for the Backcountry, 1733-1749." Cashin shows that Oglethorpe "provided for eventual (British) control of the backcountry by his Indian diplomacy and by policing the trade" (p. 109) in contrast with his rival, the French governor of Louisiana. Cashin highlights the self-confident and impetuous men who served under Oglethorpe in the Indian areas, seriously policing English traders and thereby gaining the cooperation of Georgia Indians.

Physically, the volume is attractive but less useful than it appears. The photographs in Edward Jackson's article are clear and appropriately sized. Apparently, however, the publisher judged that readers would look at the photographs of Oglethorpe's portraits but would not bother to read the maps, which are essential to Cashin's and De Vorsey's essays. Both of the eighteenth-century maps in Cashin's essay and four of the eight maps used in De Vorsey's text should have been given a full page each because of their detail. They cannot be read without magnification. The book is well indexed, endnotes are together, keyed by page numbers, and there is a brief bibliography of secondary and published primary sources.

CAROLE WATTERSON TROXLER
Elon College

Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture. By Jack P. Greene. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. xv, 284. Notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

During the past few years, Jack Greene has given us two provocative works of synthesis. *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788*, which appeared in 1987, examines the links between the English and American constitutional traditions. *Pursuits of Happiness* surveys early American social history. It offers a broad summary of recent books and articles, and sets forth striking, new interpretations of colonial society. Ultimately, it must be judged a mixed success. The summaries of current writing are valuable, but the hypotheses about the colonial world are unconvincing.

One of the stated goals of the book is “to provide a synthesis of existing literature on the social development of the settler societies of the early modern British Empire” (p. xi). This goal is amply realized. The book abounds with expressions such as, “as Patricia Bonomi has argued,” “in J. R. Pole’s words,” or “as Michael Kammen, Sung Bok Kim, and Thomas L. Purvis, among others, have all pointed out” (pp. 201, 195, 140). The text highlights the work of particular writers, while the endnotes provide a fuller catalog of the relevant literature. Not only does Greene provide a useful Baedeker to the studies of the mainland colonies, he also surveys works on the British West Indies, Ireland, and Britain itself. One way of reading this book is as a richly annotated bibliography.

Pursuits of Happiness is on weaker ground when it reinterprets the nature of society in early America. Greene sets forth and defends two propositions. One is an argument for “convergence”—the contention that the “regions were becoming increasingly alike during the generations immediately preceding the American Revolution” (p. 170). According to Greene, the Chesapeake, Middle Colonies, Lower South and much of the West Indies had started out as individualistic, disordered societies. Gradually, during the eighteenth century elites emerged, family ties strengthened, and society became more communal and stable. Puritan New England, on the other hand, began as a highly ordered world and steadily became more individualistic—and more like the other colonies. Greene’s hypothesis is provocative. It is one of the few attempts to bring order out of recent writings.

But ultimately the argument for convergence is unconvincing. For example, it is questionable whether the Middle Colonies became more stable. In New York the rise of agrarian unrest challenges Greene’s contention. So does the shattering of Quaker hegemony in Pennsylvania and the growth of bitter factionalism in the colony. Were New England and the South becoming more alike? Hardly. In the seventeenth century, both regions were populated by free, “middling” farmers. In the eighteenth century, much of the South became a land of slaveholding plantations while small freeholders continued to prevail in New England. Literacy rates, urbanization, and artisanal activity in New England and the South all showed divergence, not convergence during the eighteenth century.

Greene’s second contention is also thoughtful—and questionable. He argues that the South, and not New England, played the “primary role in the creation of American culture” (p. 205). Greene reads New England out of the mainstream of American life. “It can no longer be doubted,” Greene remarks, “that, in most respects, New England’s experience was fundamentally dissimilar from that of every other area of the early modern British world” (p. 165). Again, *Pursuits of Happiness* challenges us with an important hypothesis. This frontal attack on the role of New England should elicit interesting responses, and through this dialectic expand our knowledge.

But Greene's argument about the "normative character" (p. 207) of southern values and behavior is hard to accept. His contentions about American culture are cast in the broadest terms. But his evidence is drawn entirely from the colonial period. Most historians feel that the links between the culture of the nation and the outlook of the regions was solidified in the nineteenth century. By that time the slaveholding, agrarian, poorly educated South was out of step with the rest of the country and its future development.

In sum, this is a provocative, engaging work. Its summaries of the historical literature are valuable. Its arguments, if unconvincing, point in the direction of a fuller synthesis of early American social history.

MARC EGNAL
York University
Toronto, Canada

The Journal of the Reverend John Joachim Zubly, A.M., D. D., March 5, 1770 through June 22, 1781. Edited by Lilla Mills Hawes. (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1989. Pp. xviii, 131. Illustrations, map, appendix, bibliography, index. Members \$15.00; non-members \$17.50.)

The Georgia Historical Society and its director emeritus, Lilla Hawes, deserve historians' thanks for making available this segment of the journal and letters of John Joachim Zubly, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church who preached in both South Carolina and Georgia in the years 1745-1781 and helped lead Georgia protests against the crown in the 1770s. Although the entries are usually brief and there are often considerable time lapses between them, Zubly's comments often cast very interesting sidelights on the South in the decade of the 1770s.

He gives a vivid picture of the vicissitudes of overland travel, especially in his account of his trip to and from Philadelphia to attend the Continental Congress in 1775. There are interesting glimpses of American lifestyles—an election in Augusta, a muster of militia which few attended because they disapproved of one man's promotion, etc. Religion receives the most attention. Zubly describes his efforts to uphold the standards of a learned clergy in the wilderness. He rehashes theological debates with Jews, Daniel Marshall (a pioneer Baptist missionary), and Anglicans. His activities in baptizing, marrying, preaching in both Georgia and South Carolina give a clear picture of a dissenting minister's many roles. He did not confine himself to Calvinist congregations; he frequently preached to Lutherans and others. His run-ins with the Anglican establishment are described. His business activities and successes receive occasional mentions.

Although he is best remembered today as a Revolutionary pamphleteer and a member of the Continental Congress, those activities receive relatively brief treatment in the journal. He makes clear that his opposition to independence was a constant in his beliefs even when he opposed specific British policies. Hawes's introduction pays particular attention to that point. The latter part of the document gives an interesting account of the problems of a Tory both before and after the taking of Savannah by the British. His grief over being estranged from his former friends comes through very clearly.

In this edition, Lilla Hawes has done an admirable job of identifying places and persons. Readers not thoroughly familiar with events of the era might have liked somewhat expanded annotations about events or situations referred to in the text—the ins-and-outs of Zubly's role in the Bethesda story, for example. Unfortunately, the text is not complete. Some German passages were omitted because she could not translate them. Perhaps a Moravian scholar can correct those omissions in an article for a future issue of the *Quarterly*.

FRANCES HARROLD
Georgia State University

The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal. By James H. Merrell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. xv, 381. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$32.50.)

Along with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and Seminoles, the Catawbas are one of the native peoples who played significant roles in the history of the Old South. It is fair to say that of these peoples, the Catawbas have received the least attention from scholars. In part this is because, compared to the others, the Catawbas were not major historical players after the middle of the eighteenth century. Indeed, after the Yamasee War of 1715, the Catawbas were useful allies in frontier conflicts but were not themselves a serious threat to the colonists. Moreover, while the Catawbas have been subjects of anthropological studies by Frank Speck, George Hicks, and myself, and of linguistic studies by Raven McDavid and Frank Siebert, and of a book-length historical study by Douglas Summers Brown, they have not been subjects of a major scholarly work. Until now, that is.

James H. Merrell's *The Indians' New World* is an important contribution to the early history of the South and its native peoples. The research on which this book is based is exhaustive. Having some acquaintance with just how fragmentary and scattered is the documentary record on the Catawbas, I applaud the thoroughness and dili-

gence with which Merrell has searched the written record. And he is more willing than most historians to incorporate the ambiguous but indispensable information that archaeologists have unearthed on the Catawbas. Merrell's scholarship is meticulous, as witnessed by his devoting 85 of the 372 pages in his book to notes. Many sentences are footnoted to multiple references.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of Merrell's book is his realization that the Catawbas from the early eighteenth century on were not an "aboriginal" society. Their historical experience was not separate from that of other people who found themselves in the South. Rather, they lived in a new social order and they were attempting to cope with new conditions—with a "New World." The social order in which the Catawbas found themselves in the Old South was as new to them as it was to the European colonists and their black slaves.

We should not, however, lose sight of the fact that at the time of the Spanish *entradas* in the sixteenth century, the Catawbas were a part of a social order that was, in fact, separate and very different from societies in the Old World. In all fairness to Merrell, too little of recent research on the Spaniards who explored the homeland of the Catawbas and their neighbors in the sixteenth century was available to him at the time he was doing his research. And much of that available now is controversial and will remain so for some time. But it is clear that at the time of the Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo expeditions the Catawbas were a small and rather unimportant group who were part of the paramount chiefdom of Cofitachequi. In the sixteenth century the Catawbas could hardly have been farther from the seat of power, and it has always been a puzzle to me how their name later attached to the congeries of disparate people from shattered societies who coalesced on the Catawba River in the late seventeenth century. They may have come to be called "Catawbas" almost by chance.

From the first time I set foot on the Catawba Reservation in 1962, the continued existence of the Catawbas seemed to me to have been more accidental than intrinsic. How could such a small number of Indians have survived in such hostile conditions? In fact, in 1840 the Catawbas signed a treaty with the state of South Carolina giving up all of their lands, and then they dispersed. Later the Indian agent Joseph White purchased 630 acres for them to use as a reservation, but at one point the total population of this reservation consisted of one old woman and six children (p. 253). While the strong case Merrell makes for the ingenuity and adaptability of the Catawbas in their quest for survival cannot be doubted, it hardly explains their continued existence against such formidable odds. One might, for example, begin looking for answers in the larger social history of the Old South.

Merrell makes little mention of the fact that the Catawbas were members of a tri-racial society, and they were a numerically small and insecure race at that time. When I did field work there in the early 1960s, the local whites emphasized that the Catawbas detested blacks and that blacks would not set foot on the reservation. Catawbas made similar statements to me. Surely the historical evidence must show that these beliefs and attitudes existed in earlier times.

Did the Catawbas live in a racially tense area? Most certainly. When I began doing fieldwork there in 1963, I learned that while I was absent a local white man had entered the room where I had taken lodgings. Later, questions were put to me about a book I had in my room—Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, an ethnography of the Trobriand Islanders. "Why," I was asked, "would anyone want to read a book which contained pictures of niggers?" Could the Catawbas have hoped to retain their rights to even a fraction of their homeland if they had not professed to share the values, beliefs, and attitudes of the dominant whites?

These are small points. All anthropologists who are interested in the native peoples of the South and all historians interested in the colonial history of the South will want a copy of *The Indians' New World* on their shelves.

CHARLES HUDSON
University of Georgia

The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture. By Helen C. Rountree. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. Pp. vii, 221. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$18.95.)

In *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia*, Helen C. Rountree provides a detailed description of Powhatan culture during the early contact period. Focusing on the first years of the Jamestown settlement (1607-1610), she examines contemporary English sources (John Smith, William Strachey, Henry Spelman, Gabriel Archer, and others) to determine "what was and was not recorded about the Early Contact Period culture of the Indian people of eastern Virginia" (p. vii). The resulting historical ethnography of Powhatan culture during the early seventeenth century will be an excellent reference work for scholars interested in understanding Indian behavior during the first century of colonial Virginia history.

Rountree opens her work with a prologue on the English observers and the Indian groups they saw. Brief discussions of each primary source explaining the authors' backgrounds and biases are followed by descriptions of the Indian groups encountered by these English observers. Finally, Rountree explains her interpretation of the nature

of the Powhatan "empire" and summarizes the available linguistic information. This section clearly exposes several areas of disagreement between Rountree and other Powhatan scholars. Rountree, for example, finds evidence for only one Powhatan language encompassing many mutually intelligible dialects corresponding to tribal groupings, rather than the three distinct Powhatan languages posited by Frank Siebert (pp. 7-8). She also takes issue with Christian Feest's revision of the Powhatan empire's boundaries, in which he excludes Algonquian groups on the Eastern Shore and the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers (p. 13).

Following the prologue, Rountree begins her description of Powhatan life with a preliminary chapter on the Virginia environment, highlighting the resources available to the native inhabitants. The remaining seven chapters deal topically with various aspects of Powhatan culture: subsistence; towns and their inhabitants; "manliness"; sex roles and family life; social distinctions; law, politics and war; and medicine and religion. Each chapter contains extensively detailed descriptions drawn principally from the contemporary English sources.

The final section of the book consists of an epilogue summarizing Powhatan culture as a chiefdom of coastal Algonquians. Rountree emphasizes the nature of the empire and the forces that led to its formation, while examining the implications her interpretations have for traditional anthropological notions of well-defined northeastern and southeastern culture areas in eastern North America. The Powhatans, according to Rountree, "formed a middle group in a broad north-south continuum of essentially similar cultures, just as their natural environment was a 'middle' ground in a north-south continuum of coastal environments" (p. 152).

General readers and individuals looking for an introduction to Powhatan culture will find little to interest them here. A seemingly never-ending stream of concrete, detailed descriptions of the minutiae of Powhatan life makes Rountree's ethnography difficult to read. The interpretive, analytical prologue and epilogue will undoubtedly be of most value to the non-specialist, though the arguments and evidence supporting her conclusions may not always be readily apparent and should be investigated with care.

The very characteristics that make the book unpalatable to the non-specialist, however, will make it a valuable reference work for the Powhatan scholar. Rountree has combed the available primary sources, evaluated them, and brought together in one place the vast majority of contemporary references pertaining to nearly every conceivable aspect of Powhatan culture. The topical organization of chapters in conjunction with a detailed index make these references readily available to scholars. Illustrations, some of which depict repre-

sentative artifacts from outside the Powhatan domain, also illuminate the textual descriptions.

Even as a reference work, however, the book is not without its shortcomings. The major limitation arises from the fact that the book was designed as a companion volume to Rountree's as yet unpublished history of the Powhatan Indians, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries*. Many of the citations in the endnotes are to this still inaccessible "forthcoming" work. The omission of proposed chapter numbers or headings (let alone page numbers) guarantees that it will be difficult to find supporting references when the history becomes available. While the logic behind separating the strictly descriptive ethnography from the presumably more interpretive, narrative history is understandable, it is also unfortunate. The exclusion from the ethnography of many of the specific citations renders it incapable of standing entirely on its own and limits its potential value as a much needed reference work on Virginia Indians during the early contact period.

NANCY L. HAGEDORN

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier. By Alan Gallay. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. xx, 282. Maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

As we approach the centennial of Frederick Jackson Turner's most famous essay, it is appropriate that historian Alan Gallay is raising questions about the identification of planters as frontiersmen. Jonathan Bryan, a native South Carolinian who pioneered the settlement of Georgia, was a farmer, a cattleman, a soldier, a surveyor, an explorer, a speculator, a ferryman, a freighter, a manufacturer of timber products, a diplomat and trader among Indians, and an evangelical Presbyterian leader. Clearly, he was a frontiersman! Yet Bryan, who acquired a veritable plantation empire, became one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in colonial Georgia—at one time or another owning in excess of 32,000 acres on which he worked over 250 slaves.

Alan Gallay of Western Washington University analyzes Bryan's fascinating career in seven well-organized chapters. His carefully selected and attractively designed chapter subtitles serve as welcome guideposts and highlight the themes of a work that he writes in a prose befitting the subject. The book's designers deserve credit for an attractive volume that is pleasing to the eye, one that includes unusually effective maps. Gallay uses with an even hand an impressive

array of manuscripts and published primary works. Researchers who have used land records will particularly appreciate the author's diligence after they study the appendixes which include lists of Jonathan Bryan's petitions for land and of conveyances of property to him.

Gallay begins with a description of the expansive, bountiful southern frontier, its native inhabitants, and the contest of European rivals for dominance of it. Just before the turn of the eighteenth century Joseph Bryan migrated to the Atlantic coastal settlement at Port Royal, South Carolina, to the north of the Savannah River. There Jonathan was born in 1708, and though his mother died within days after his birth, Jonathan and his siblings Joseph, Hugh, and Hannah remained a closely knit family. Their experiences are used by Gallay as a vehicle for describing the settlement and growth of Georgia through the American Revolution. Because Jonathan best exemplified adaptation and competition on this frontier, he is the central figure in Gallay's account.

Before he delves into the Georgia story, however, Gallay includes a strong chapter on George Whitefield, the Great Awakening, and slavery reform. Here he explains that despite Jonathan Bryan's key role in the evangelical network and his fight for the conversion of slaves he never sought to abolish the institution upon which his plantation empire was based. Of his various political offices in Georgia, none proved as crucial in his acquisition of land as his seat on the Georgia Council which controlled the distribution of the public domain. Hence, the author devotes an entire chapter to the relationship of land, politics, and family power before he treats the friction developing between Britain and her American colonies—friction which transforms Bryan into a patriot. Next Gallay moves into an excellent discussion of Bryan's efforts to establish a colony on the mammoth tract in East Florida which he leased from the Creeks on the eve of hostilities. The final chapter relates Bryan's revolutionary activities which resulted in his capture in December 1778 and his nearly two years of imprisonment. He died in March of 1788.

That Jonathan Bryan provides an appealing subject there is little doubt. There is considerable doubt, however, that many historians of the South will concur with Professor Gallay's assessment of the significance of Bryan's life which he sums up in the final half-dozen pages of the book. While most historians of the South—and of the West—see a fundamental incongruence between the emergent planter society and the American frontier, Gallay explains that Bryan's plantation empire resulted from his adaptation to Georgia's rough frontier. He and others among the elite simply competed most successfully. Slavery was inextricably woven into the process. Jonathan Bryan, because of his commitment to Christianize his blacks, was an unusual slaveholder for his time. In the long range, however, he thereby substantially contributed to the growth of southern paternalism which

“rationalized and justified not only the exploitation of black slaves but the right of elites to rule over other whites” (p. 166). While Galloway is in the interpretative mainstream on this point, he will not find many colleagues eager to accept his invitation for them to “reexamine the formative influence of the frontier on southern life” (p. 165)—an invitation extended when it is popular again for historians to denigrate Turner. Nevertheless, Avery Craven must be smiling down warmly at Galloway. In 1939 he argued in the *Journal of Southern History* that Turner’s frontier thesis applied to the South!

JOHN D. W. GUICE

University of Southern Mississippi

The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865. By Clifton Paisley. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. Pp. xi, 290. Illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95 paper.)

The Red Hills of Florida is a name that Clifton Paisley, deliberately recalling the Red Hills of Georgia, applies to the 150-mile-long strip of red clay hill country in the Florida panhandle where antebellum cotton plantations were concentrated. This is the Tallahassee area whose post-Civil War history the same author treated twenty years earlier in *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (1968).

A short introductory chapter describes the geography of the region with little help from an accompanying map which is poor in topographic detail and omits the area entirely north of the Florida borders, although these straight-line boundaries (due to the interdiction of Indians) were not even surveyed until 1800. Chapter 2 summarizes Red Hills prehistory, ending with a description of the aboriginal Apalaches whom Hernando de Soto encountered in 1539. In the third and fourth chapters Paisley rapidly disposes of over 275 years of history during which the Red Hills passed through a century of Indian autonomy within the Spanish sphere of influence, a seventy-year period of Spanish mission hegemony ending in 1704, and a century of renewed native autonomy, this time under British influence.

Having—with the comprehensiveness, verve, and economy of a good textbook writer—proceeded to 1812 and the first American invasion by page 44, Paisley focuses the rest of his book on the interest of an Old South readership whose central concern with the Red Hills is frankly genealogical. His short chapters can be grouped into three sections. The first, covering the period from 1812 to 1845, is characterized by two alternating themes: the American conquest of Florida from the Creeks and Seminoles, and the early years of American

settlement in the Red Hills when many of the settlers came from Virginia.

The second and most original section of the book concentrates on the reign of King Cotton from 1845 to 1850, when the five counties surrounding the new state capital of Tallahassee held nearly half of the state population, white and black. A map of each county—Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, and Madison—shows approximately where the larger plantations stood in 1850, with the plantation name and owner. Five corresponding tabular appendices which deserve to appear in the text as tables list over two hundred of these owners along with a wide range of data drawn from the 1850 population census, agricultural census, and tax rolls. The third and final section, which includes an ambivalent, one-chapter look at the legal and social status of African-Americans, extends from the railroad-building boom of the 1850s through the secession crisis to conclude the volume with the Civil War.

That this unabashedly local history can yet be recommended to the general reader is a tribute to Paisley's narrative flair and eye for the colorful detail, skills honed during his career as a journalist. Problems of uneven organization and limited primary research that in lesser hands would have made this volume no more than the unfortunate pairing of an unfinished textbook on Florida history with a compilation of one year of census and tax data for five north Florida counties are offset by Paisley's careful secondary research and good writing. If a somewhat unusual variant in the ranks of local history, the book is also informative, rewarding, and deserving of a wider readership than the one toward which it aims. High priced for a paperback, the publication is also of high quality. The illustrations are abundant and clearly reproduced, the design attractive, and notes, bibliography, and index generous.

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL
University of South Alabama

The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920. By Peter A. Coclanis. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. ix, 370. Illustrations, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Peter Coclanis describes his study as an "analytical essay rather than a work of narrative history" (p. vii) on the rise and fall of the economy of the South Carolina low country from English settlement in the 1670s to the early twentieth century. It is firmly grounded on "a belief in the power of materialist explanations both of the past and of the world we live in today" (p. viii). "It was 'the market' that led to the founding of South Carolina," Coclanis declares, "that brought

white and black settlers there, that created the conditions under which the whites of the low country could achieve in the eighteenth century a degree of economic success that the world had seldom seen before, and that ultimately unleashed the forces that would this success devour" (p. 49).

Founded on mercantilist principles that emphasized exportation of raw materials and staple crops to overseas markets, after 1700 rice became the most profitable commodity because of sustained demand and the suitability of the low country's natural environment. Plantation slavery and rice cultivation created great wealth for planters during the eighteenth century, but it was purchased at long-term costs. Continued prosperity depended on external markets, yet the structure of the rice economy limited internal development or alternative commercial activities. After 1840, the low country economy declined as new sources of rice became available on world markets. Emancipation only accelerated the region's fall. Planters were unable, because of the structural weaknesses of the rice economy of the low country and the limited commercial possibilities of the environment, to reverse the region's slide into poverty.

Much of Coclanis's analysis will be familiar to students of the South Carolina low country. The region's early orientation towards production for international markets, high mortality in the eighteenth century, reliance on enslaved Africans, the extraordinary wealth of its planter elite, institutional underdevelopment in the countryside, economic stagnation by the mid-nineteenth century, gradual demise of rice cultivation by 1900, and the persistence of poverty into the present—have all been frequently noted by earlier scholars.

Coclanis, however, makes three important contributions to our understanding of the low country economy. First, his 250-year time span emphasizes persistent features of economic structure and values that have shaped the low country. Coclanis sees little difference between the goals of proprietors and settlers in the seventeenth century; both sought to exploit the natural environment for personal gain. Coclanis convincingly connects twentieth-century poverty with decisions made almost 200 years ago. Second, this is economic history broadly conceived. Along with discussions of mercantilist theory and economic growth models based on theories of comparative advantage and staple exports, there are detailed demographic analyses of population growth and differential levels of mortality between Africans, whites, and Native Americans. A chapter on the low country environment describes systems for classifying climates, forests, animals, and soils. Most suggestive is a brief opening essay on the sociology of Charleston's urban space and domestic architecture that contrasts the social power expressed by the double house with the private withdrawn space of the single house. Third, despite limitations in the quality and quantity of the sources, Coclanis provides detailed esti-

mates of population growth, distribution of wealth and economic performance of the low country. The tables were especially clear and informative.

Yet the book is disappointing in several ways. It is based on prodigious scholarship; the 160-page text is supported by 125 pages of endnotes (surely a new record in scholarly citation!) and an impressive 60-page bibliography, including almost 300 manuscript collections. It is disappointing that such wealth of research produced so sparse a narrative. At times, the annotations overwhelm the narrative; a half page of references support a single sentence and detailed historiographical arguments are presented in the notes. Coclanis's multiple frames of reference and models sometimes disrupt the primary analysis. Why present theories of climatic change since the early modern period only to conclude that the low country hasn't changed since the seventeenth century? Coclanis slights the role of indigo and long-staple cotton to the low country's economy and greater application of models of plantation economies would have informed the analysis of the low country's decline.

For a manuscript that won the prestigious Society of American Historians' Allen Nevins Prize, the prose is surprisingly repetitious and discursive. Economic terms are not always defined; how many non-specialists understand the meaning of "structural disarticulation, factoral distortion, and asymmetrical development" (p. 131)? Many metaphors and images are strained. The arrival of the frigate *Carolina* in 1670, for example, is described as an "existential moment in the saga of this epochal development [of European commercial expansion]" (p. 13). In criticizing scholars who have sharply differentiated between the early pioneer period and the later plantation era, Coclanis writes: "This interpretation is not wrong but somewhat opaque, for it cloaks the early proceedings in South Carolina in unjustified innocence, investing the early white settlers in unwarranted disinterest, if not the homespun garb of retreat" (p. 49).

Finally, this is macro-history without human actors. The "market," not people, created the low country. The dominant whites' "fierce adherence to the social ethos of the market" made them respond automatically "to the stimuli and signals of the market in an economically rational way" (p. 50). On African-American contributions to the low country's economic rise and demise, the book is silent. Coclanis repeatedly views the low country as "a desolate landscape" with "a forlorn and miserable history" (p. 157). Is this the same low country that scholars such as Peter Wood, Willie Lee Rose, and Charles Joyner have described as a seedbed of a rich African-American culture? While no one can deny that the Gullah people have experienced much poverty and injustice, their landscape is different from the one described in this book.

JOHN T. SCHLOTTERBECK
DePauw University

Women in the Age of the American Revolution. Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989. Pp. ix, 516. Tables, figures, notes, index. \$49.50 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

Until the 1970s one could count on one hand the major works published about women in the American Revolution. Despite important books by Linda K. Kerber and Mary Beth Norton since then, the subject still remains understudied. In this impressive collection of ten essays, framed by Kerber's introduction and Norton's conclusion, a distinguished group of historians addresses a long neglected topic. The majority of the essays concentrate on the social, economic, and legal context of the Revolutionary period rather than on the American Revolution itself. Indeed, collectively, the essays raise once more the persistent question of "periodization" in women's history. As these essays demonstrate, traditional approaches to history that center on men and politics prove inadequate for the study of women.

Introduced by Daniel Scott Smith, the four essays on inheritance and wills by Gloria L. Main, David E. Narrett, Carole Shammas, and Lois Green Carr underscore that point. On the one hand, it could be argued that the status of women actually declined over the course of the eighteenth century. They served less frequently as executors of wills, and they received less than the legally required third of their husbands' property. This trend was particularly observable in New York, as Narrett shows, because of Dutch precedents in which a dying husband and father could leave an entire estate wholly in the hands of a surviving spouse. As English custom and law came to predominate in New York, that practice disappeared. On the other hand, if widows were receiving less property by the end of the century, their children were receiving more. Even before the abolition of primogeniture and double shares for the eldest son, men were providing more equitable portions of their estates to all their children—daughters as well as sons.

Marylynn Salmon carries the discussion of women's property rights into the nineteenth century by examining key legislation passed in Pennsylvania in the 1840s and 1850s. As the earlier essays revealed, one cannot analyze property rights without discussing the role men played as legislators and electors as well as husbands and fathers. (Shammas estimates conservatively that men controlled more than 90 percent of the capital resources in eighteenth-century America.) How men perceived the family and how they chose to protect their property crucially affected feminist reform.

Essays by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and Sally D. Mason explore the private lives of white women in New England and the Chesapeake. Ulrich reinterprets the meaning of forty-six spinning meetings organized by New England "Daughters of Liberty" (p. 213) between

1766 and 1770, and finds the gatherings more religious and social in purpose than political. Similarly, she argues that a broadside featuring a woodcut of a female holding a powder horn and musket was primarily a “religious artifact” (p. 228) and not an example of “female militance” (p. 229) as previously thought. Mason, in a fascinating glimpse of the Carroll family of Maryland, delves into the personal lives of three of the female members and discloses a twenty-year common law marriage and a case of opium addiction.

The remaining essays by Jacqueline Jones and David Grimsted deal most directly with the political and military currents of the Revolution. Jones provides a thoughtful synthesis of recent scholarship on how the Revolution engaged the lives of black women, whose primary concerns were family and community in a disorderly and oppressive world.

Grimsted, in a wide-ranging, 106-page essay, explores the importance of Phillis Wheatley as a poet and symbol. Taking the part of literary critic, Grimsted explicates the double meanings in Wheatley’s poetry as they related to race and tensions with Great Britain. He then shifts his attention to the largely white evangelical Christian community in which Wheatley found moral and intellectual sustenance. Finally, he ambitiously links Wheatley to the rise of scientific racism and the unsavory role Thomas Jefferson played in that drama. Terming Jefferson the “world’s premier racist” (p. 428), Grimsted challenges progressive, consensus, and radical historians who have celebrated the Revolution while ignoring how the individual right to property was enshrined at the expense of human rights for blacks. In associating conservatives and Federalists like Timothy Dwight with the nascent antislavery movement of the early national period, however, Grimsted overlooks the important findings of Larry E. Tise, who has discovered a startling preponderance of proslavery advocates, including Dwight, in New England, not the South. In fact, Tise’s arguments make all the more penetrating Grimsted’s criticisms about the emptiness of republican traditions for particular groups.

Given the scope of this book, it is perhaps surprising to find no essays devoted to loyalist or Native American women. Still, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution* continues the superb series sponsored by the United States Capitol Historical Society and deserves the careful attention of American historians.

JEFFREY J. CROW
North Carolina Division
of Archives and History

Charles Fenton Mercer and the Trial of National Conservatism. By Douglas R. Egerton. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. Pp. 368. Notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

Here is the first full-length biography of an important political figure, one whose achievements clearly indicate that the effort is long overdue. Charles Fenton Mercer began his public service in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1810, moved on to the House of Representatives seven years later, and remained in that body for the next two decades. During this time he provided leadership and energy for a number of very significant measures. He authored the plan for expanding state banking in Virginia and for a comprehensive public school system. He was a central figure in the founding of the American Colonization Society and the person most responsible for securing federal funding to launch the settlement in Africa. Mercer also got through Congress the bill which branded the slave trade as piracy. Meanwhile, he proposed an ambitious program of internal improvements in Virginia, supported similar projects in Congress, and presided over the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal during its years of construction out to Cumberland, Maryland. He was the strongest voice for reform in the Virginia constitutional convention in 1829, but its changes in suffrage and redistricting fell short of his goals. Ever the champion of industrial development, he consistently supported the protective tariff policy and was one of the two southerners who opposed Henry Clay's compromise in 1833. While Clay came to be identified most closely with the American System of policies, Mercer was earlier in the field and consistently active in its behalf.

In dealing with Mercer's considerable achievements the present work casts them in a convincing interpretative framework. Mercer brought to the Whig mix of elements by the 1830s a conservative Federalist impulse to social order and rule by the elite. Education at Princeton during the Federalist decade of the 1790s served to reinforce the anti-democratic bias of his family upbringing. Early travel in Europe, where industrialization was beginning to create great social dislocation, impressed the young Mercer with the need for the ruling class to direct the course of national development. The American System of policies, directed by an energetic government, was thus calculated to stimulate and harmonize diverse economic interests while it forged stronger bonds of social unity. In like fashion education would be a means of enlightenment and social control, and colonization would remove the disordering element of free blacks from society. As a second generation Federalist, Mercer performed "a signal service" (p. 288) for conservatism by making it more palatable to the democratic environment in the early nineteenth century. Political reforms in Virginia, a popular style of campaigning, and experiment with a party convention as early as 1812 were all parts of the strategy.

Unhappily for Mercer, the "trial of conservatism" became too severe by the end of the 1830s. He never understood the democratic forces under President Andrew Jackson that dismantled the American System of policies; nullification drove the South even further away from his naturalist outlook; and the younger Whigs ultimately compelled him to step aside.

Chapter organization proceeds chronologically yet with good topical focus on the signal achievements in Mercer's career. Except for the somewhat rambling last chapter, it is written in a clear and straightforward way. Notes placed at the end of each chapter make for easy reference, but some readers may object on aesthetic grounds. The index is poorly constructed; among other things there are no category entries on banking, colonization, education, internal improvements, and the tariff. Two other weaknesses in the volume are more substantial. One, quite common in many biographies, is to focus too much on the subject's actions and not place them in a larger context. Secondly, more should have been done with the personality and character of Mercer. Many of his papers were destroyed during the Civil War, to be sure, and others scattered by autograph seekers among the Union soldiers. But a good deal of the material has been collected, and the perceptions of contemporaries could have been used more constructively. He was single, short, fat, bald, and a workaholic; but the reader wants more. The dust jacket claim that "he had no private life" will not do.

Despite its limitations the present biography represents a solid piece of work and will be welcomed by students of the period. It is, moreover, rightminded in its effort to rediscover and give due credit to a relatively neglected but significant public figure.

MAJOR L. WILSON
Memphis State University

Frontiers in Conflict: The Old Southwest, 1795-1830. By Thomas D. Clark and John D. W. Guice. Histories of the American Frontier Series, edited by Ray Allen Billington. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989. Pp. xvi, 335. Maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

Frontiers in Conflict is an ambitious undertaking. Thomas Clark and John Guice set out to survey the broad sweep of history in the Gulf states, from the territorial squabbles of the early national period to American settlement and Indian removal during the Jacksonian era. Along the way the authors touch on the settlers' rebellions in West Florida, the Yazoo speculation, the myth and reality of violence along the Natchez Trace, the place of herdsmen in frontier society, the Creek uprising of 1813, and the political wranglings that accom-

panied "state-making" in Mississippi and Alabama. Clark and Guice are most sure-footed when they delve into the grand conflicts of the clashing European, American, and Indian nations. But lost in the sweep of this account are the stories of social, political, and economic conflict on the local and state level. Once the Southwest was secure in American hands and the long process of Indian land cessions had begun, settlers still faced the arduous and often contentious task of building their communities. *Frontiers in Conflict* never fully captures this integral aspect of frontier life.

The strength of this book lies in its mastery of the complexities of federal policy in the early national period. Clark and Guice, for example, do a fine job of recounting the intricacies of the American rebellions against Spanish rule in West Florida and Baton Rouge in the first decade of the nineteenth century, moving from local filibustering schemes to national tensions between America and Spain with ease and clarity. They are equally adept at untangling the web of corruption surrounding the Yazoo speculation.

Conflict between whites and Indians is woven throughout the book. Clark and Guice convincingly argue that the federal government stressed an Indian policy based on "paternalism and pacification" in the years before the War of 1812 (p. 24). Land acquisition took a backseat to the elimination of foreign influence and the development of profitable trade with the tribes. Jefferson, for instance, envisioned the assimilation of Indians as yeoman farmers into American society. But pressure from eager settlers forced a gradual shift in federal policy. Treaties emphasizing land cessions, military conflict, and the eventual removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi River marked the failure of the government's early attempts at peaceful coexistence.

Clark and Guice skillfully delineate the metamorphosis of federal Indian policy but their argument falters in one important respect. While they do discuss the internal factions within tribes and the roles of mixed blood Indians, the authors, for the most part, ignore the Indian point of view. Acknowledging that many Creeks harbored "a smoldering distrust and hatred of the ever-encroaching Americans" (p. 125), Clark and Guice never explore the roots of that hatred. They present the Creek uprising as a fanatical strike against Jefferson's civilization policy, incited by the manipulative Tecumseh and his prophet followers. Why did the Red Sticks listen to Tecumseh's message of white corruption, while other Creeks did not? Attributing the decision to fight to irrationality is too simplistic.

The real disappointment of *Frontiers in Conflict* is that Clark and Guice fail to flesh out the skeletal framework of broad conflicts that shaped the Southwest. Their discussion of social structures and issues rarely skims below the surface. For instance, in an effort to emphasize the "western" nature of the Old Southwest, the authors note in their

conclusion that slaves were frontiersmen, "just as their masters" (p. 261). No doubt this is true, but a more significant question is whether or not slaves were different kinds of frontiersmen than their white masters, and whether their presence created a very different kind of frontier. In this book, the role of slaves is relegated to one chapter, along with brief snippets on the place of women, planter-yeoman relations, crime and disorder, religion, town life, and the militia.

The economic and political struggles of the Old Southwest also receive little attention in *Frontiers in Conflict*. The Panic of 1819, for instance, is dealt with in one paragraph. This is astounding given the seminal importance of the panic to the people of the Southwest. By 1822, settlers in the Alabama land districts of Huntsville and Cahaba alone had relinquished well over 700,000 acres to the federal government to pay off debts, a figure far exceeding any other in the West. This reversal of fortune deserves a fuller treatment than is found in this book. Similarly, statements about the "bitter factionalization of local politics" (p. 230) over banking policy and the impact of the territorial era on the subsequent development of the Second Party system stand alone without any discussion. *Frontiers in Conflict* is an incomplete history that details some of the sweeping forces of change in the early national period, but stops short of capturing the complex society that emerged in the Southwest.

DANIEL DUPRE
*University of North Carolina
at Charlotte*

Natchez Before 1830. Edited by Noel Polk. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. Pp. xii, 232. Figures, notes, index. \$27.50.)

Natchez Before 1830 has great promise for the topic is compelling and the volume addresses a need. The ten essays, under the general editorship of Noel Polk, who did a masterful job as editor of the William Faulkner manuscripts, have chronological and topical breadth. It is an appealing package. The essays were presented at the second L. O. Crosby, Jr., Memorial Lectures in Mississippi Culture in 1987, and begin with an introductory chronology of Natchez prepared by Julie Sass, which is marred by some errors and questionable statements.

Ian Brown promises to give a view of what Indian lifeways were like in the Natchez region in historic times. Instead he provides a solid archeological description of the location and occupation of the various Natchez sites in the region. His article has the most illustrations (fourteen) in the book, and given the narrative, they are necessary to get a full understanding of his article. Letha Wood Audhuy places the Natchez of French Louisiana in the fiction of Chateau-

briand's *The Natchez*. She states that Chateaubriand never visited the region, that he was a follower of the Rousseau concept of a noble savage, and that he took great liberties with his sources. Ms. Audhuy points out that fiction is not history but can be valuable in understanding historical events. In this case, it is the conflict of European and Amer-Indian cultures that led to the Natchez revolt of 1729.

Alfred Lemmon provides a good survey of the arrangement of Spanish archives and the location of some important sources for pre-1830 Natchez. It serves as a good introductory piece but does not replace older works. Don E. Carleton offers a tantalizing glimpse of the Natchez Trace Collection at the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas at Austin. His article is another reminder that historians must consult that collection for any complete study of the Old Southwest. Milton B. Newton, Jr., has taken an isolated subject, the Wilton Map of the Natchez district of 1774, and made it the base for a solid social history dealing with the politics of land grants and latter usage. The article expands far beyond the limits of a single document and outlines policies and procedures under the French, Spanish, English, and Americans. Newton admits that there are still substantive questions about the origins and effects of the map of William Wilton.

"'The Remotest Corner': Natchez on the American Frontier" by Morton Rothstein typifies this volume. He eloquently places the responsibility for the evolution of Natchez from frontier community to the verge of the "flush times" on the "unusually able, energetic businessmen in the front ranks of the town's social order" (p. 93). He then proceeds to show how William Dunbar, his son-in-law Samuel Postlewaite and then, the latter's nephew Stephen Duncan, all used acumen and family relationships to construct the economic and social leadership of Natchez. Solid, pithy, and useful, Rothstein's essay is excellent, except that in discussing the complex, but well-known territorial history of Natchez, he gives the impression that the English exchanged East Florida and Cuba for Gibraltar after the American Revolution. Such a statement casts a pall over the validity of the entire essay.

Estill Curtis Pennington presents an argument that historians should pay more attention to the artifacts of the environment when attempting to understand a place or an era. The aesthetics of Natchez are an interplay of "the manufacture of all goods by a labor class and their consumption by a monied class" (p. 122). Yet modern historiography has gone far beyond the "lethal mythologizing" (p. 111) of moonlight and magnolias that Pennington claims exists as well as polemical attacks upon southern racism. His statement, "Slavery was an odious and extraordinarily unfortunate system, but only the most naive historian will claim that it was more or less odious than any other form of human manumission [sic] in the history of the planet"

(p. 110), at best reflects poor word choice. He does give a survey of the use of silver, furniture and portraiture among Natchez residents.

Jeanne Middleton Forsythe in her essay on education in Natchez points out that education is a mirror of the prevailing values of the society and that the Natchez "educational system" she outlines for men, women and blacks did reflect those values. Sam Wilson, Jr., methodically builds a structure by structure history of pre-1830 architecture. Well researched and concisely written, it is what one would expect from his previous work. Wilson's article, despite its far too general conclusion, serves as a good guide to early Natchez architecture.

The volume contains errors that should have been caught and some perhaps unavoidable inconsistencies. *Natchez Before 1830* does not fulfill its promise, but it does not disappoint either. Fortunately, the strong points keep the work from being a pot-boiler, which a subject anthology should not be.

WILBUR E. MENERAY
Tulane University

Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom. By Peter Kolchin. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. Pp. xiv, 517. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$25.00.)

Over forty years ago, Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen* invited students of slavery and race relations to broaden their range of inquiry from the American South to the whole of the Americas. Since that time, scholars have reached back to explore the origins and evolution of slavery in ancient Crete, Greece, Rome, and elsewhere, then across Africa and the Americas to observe slavery in different settings. David Brion Davis in several books (most recently, *Slavery and Human Progress* [1984]), and Orlando Patterson, in *Slavery and Social Death* (1982), especially located slavery as central to Western experience. They, and many others, noted that various degrees of "unfreedom" have marked virtually every age and civilization.

In his immensely important book, *Unfree Labor*, Peter Kolchin now expands the comparative framework to include the largest bodies of, and experiences with, bound labor in the nineteenth-century Christian world. In so doing, he both provides the first systematic comparative treatment of the Old South, which some proslavery apologists at war with northern progress celebrated as a feudal society, and European Russia, which truly was a feudal society lurching toward Western ideas of progress, and, more important, moves the discussion of slavery from a preoccupation with American developments toward an appreciation of the economic and social forces shaping unfree labor

systems generally. The result is a book as much about capitalism and slavery as about American slavery and Russian serfdom.

Kolchin tracks the origins of unfree labor, noting that both slavery in America and serfdom in Russia were outgrowths of European geographic and economic expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In what he casts as almost a universal truth, Kolchin argues that the shortage of agricultural workers in a dynamic market-oriented economy was the fundamental reason for the establishment of slavery and serfdom. The labor systems shared common features in that slaves and, by the mid-eighteenth century, serfs were generally treated as property, to be bought and sold, were exploited ruthlessly, and even forced to migrate to new land to produce surpluses for market. Also, American planters and Russian nobles alike viewed their respective unfree labor systems as "part of the natural order."

Whatever their common grounds, slavery and serfdom developed very differently, as a result of two central facts distinguishing the American and Russian experiences. First, the American slaves were always "outsiders," uprooted from Africa to live among the English. Their status, when combined with their color and culture ("heathen" and "savage" by Euro-American estimation), left them as permanent aliens among increasingly ethnocentric Americans. The serfs, by contrast, were drawn from the same "racial" stock as the nobles. Class, not color, staked the boundaries between them. They shared common religious beliefs and traditions. Serfs could never become nobles, but they were always Russians.

The second major difference between slavery and serfdom was in the size and character of the agricultural production unit. Russian landholdings and work forces were much larger than southern plantations, and Russian nobles (*pomeshchiki*) generally ran their operations as absentee landlords. The nobles principally approached their serfs as laborers to be exploited. On their ancestral lands, serfs might suffer hunger, depressingly high infant mortality rates (and death rates generally), and numerous other abuses, but they escaped the nobles' intrusion into their daily lives, and they also cultivated their "own" land, along with that of the nobles. The serfs drew on centuries of tradition and their own peasant organizations and relations to achieve a degree of autonomy nowhere matched in the American slave experience. The smaller size of American slaveholdings and, more important, the resident status of virtually all planters meant that the black slaves—"outsiders" needful of acculturation, observation, and management—lived among whites whose pecuniary and personal interests, even self-identity, hinged on the master's ability to control every aspect of the slaves' lives. American slaves enjoyed a "better" material quality of life than did serfs, but it came at the cost of cultural autonomy. For Kolchin, who insists on a rigorous definition of the term *community*, slave "community," which centered in

family and religion, was diffuse and constantly invaded by white masters. It lacked the resilient, tradition-bound communal structures and collective behavior of the serfs' *mir* or commune. In their responses to bondage, slaves tended to act individually (e.g., running away) and "irrationally" (i.e., not well organized) rather than collectively. It is revealing that American slaves had no history of large-scale peasant wars or organized, village-wide strikes or disturbances (*volneniia*) that resounded through Russian history. No doubt such conclusions will disturb those scholars uncomfortable with ideas about the insidious power of southern "paternalism."

In a short review essay, it is impossible to distill the many new insights that Kolchin offers on such subjects as planter and pomeshchiki mentalité, labor management, patterns of resistance and protest, forms of punishment, to name several. And it is perhaps querulous to ask Kolchin to do more in a book so finely wrought as *Unfree Labor*. But for all its many strengths (indeed, because of them), *Unfree Labor* might have deepened the argument about planter paternalism by more fully exploring the nature and meaning of religion among masters and bondsmen. Religion functioned differently in Russia and the American South, but in one fundamental way it shaped master-bondsmen relations more profoundly in the South than in Russia. In the South, the local, congregational nature of religion gave the planters a degree of control over the local community—free and slave—that nobles never exercised in Orthodox Russia. Paradoxically, the evangelical Protestantism of the South also endowed the slaves with a potential spiritual power the serfs could never claim in their church. As preachers (and as exhorters and conjurers, too), the slaves assumed religious authority. As members of Protestant churches or subjects of masters' conversion efforts, slaves might pass judgments on masters needful of "approval" by demanding that masters abide by their professed Christian convictions of charity and duty.

As regards the differing world views of planters and *pomeshchiki*, the openness of the American system needs additional consideration. In Russia the serf-owning class was closed, by law, to all but the nobility, but in the American South, slaveowning was open, fluid, and widespread. People acquired slaves by purchase and inheritance and also became involved in the system by hiring slaves. The "popularity" of slavery gave it a strength that the exclusiveness of serfdom never had. It also demanded that slavery continue to prove itself in a democratic political culture—thus, the vigorous proslavery argument in the South and the flaccid pro-serf one in Russia, and also the aggressive politicking of planters and their reliance on local government and a federal system to protect their way of life, factors unavailable to Russian nobles who served the tsar. The resident status of masters had yet another effect. It was not just that most planters were directly

involved in the management of their land and labor; rather, they viewed themselves differently than did absentee landowners. They regarded themselves as farmers, taking pride in their "home" improvements, the introduction of new strains of cotton (or whatever), the imposition of system and order (note the increased use of Thomas Affleck's ruled farmbooks) without sacrificing, they insisted, humanity. It was as self-styled farmers that the planters came to love their land. Finally, Kolchin never bores as deeply into the serfs' private world(s) as he does the slaves'. In this, the sources betray him, for there is nothing comparable to the slave narratives and ex-slave interviews for Russian serfs. Kolchin has mastered a huge Russian literature and used folklore imaginatively, but he must see the serfs through the lens of foreign travelers and the laws and business records of the landowning class. We remain strangers to much of the serf/peasant culture.

Kolchin closes his remarkable book with several speculations on abolition. Where the southern planters fought to preserve a way of life, the Russian nobles came to recognize that serfdom did not pay and, so, they made the necessary adjustments to the emerging bourgeois world, gaining compensation and retaining control over their valuable estates in the end. No radical break, no great civil war, occurred in Russia. For his next book, Kolchin is now charting the roads to abolition in America and Russia, and thereby mapping more fully the economies and politics of forced labor. No one can be a surer guide. While we anticipate that book, we should read, re-read, and learn from the present one, a tour de force that reinvigorates comparative history and discussions about the nature and meaning of unfree labor everywhere.

RANDALL M. MILLER
Saint Joseph's University

Science and Medicine in the Old South. Edited by Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 370. Tables, notes, index. \$37.50.)

If a decade can possess some identifiable signature, then for historical studies of science and medicine in the antebellum South, it might be the years 1979-1989. The first SHA session devoted to the topic of science in the Old South in 1979 contributed to a sustained scholarly demonstration of how studies of the South can elucidate the significance of region within comparative national contexts. Another example of this vitality was the session at the 1982 SHA devoted to southern health that produced Todd Savitt and James Harvey Young, eds., *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South* (1988). The decade

ended with a flurry of activity: the 1989 SHA session on science and technology; the publication of *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* with its inclusion of scientists, healers, institutions, problems and accomplishments; and finally, the long-awaited appearance of the present volume that serves as capstone for an active period.

With their earlier work, the editors have shaped the enterprise itself, and both were organizers of and contributors to that 1979 SHA session. The two were excellent choices to edit the papers presented at the 1982-83 Barnard-Millington Symposia on Science and Medicine in the Old South. These symposia, and an additional 1985 meeting on "The Image of Nurses in the South," were funded by the NEH, administered and co-sponsored by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture in Oxford, and the University of Mississippi School of Medicine at Jackson.

With an introduction to each, this finely crafted and handsomely produced anthology is divided into two parts: Science in the Old South (six chapters), and Medicine in the Old South (nine chapters). Collectively, these chapters written by an impressive group of scholars embrace the issues of commonalities shared by North and South, and the meaning of the differences observed. The authors address such specific questions as how slavery, climate, and rhetoric affected therapeutics, health, science instruction, and medical and scientific institutions.

Without denying an inhibiting role to slavery, Ronald and Janet Numbers argue convincingly in the only quantitative study in the volume that the small number of southern cities simply could not rival the levels of activity found in the North. As Thomas G. Dyer's study of the University of Georgia demonstrates, many antebellum southern colleges were more committed to science in the curricula than were many classics-dominated northern schools. Similarly, Lester D. Stephens shows that scientific societies did flourish in the South and that in both structure and function they were indistinguishable from northern counterparts.

Southerners emulated northern institutions, and at times their own efforts were more ambitious. But the contributors to this volume also address the negative influences of slavery, and the realities of a grudgingly acknowledged unhealthy climate, particularly as such recognition inspired divisiveness that effectively truncated the realm of effective activity. As James H. Cassidy points out, the South was a rapidly developing region in which the rigors and clime exacted a toll on body and rhetoric. Defend its singularity as they might, southern public health officials, writes Margaret H. Warner, could not lift the albatross of yellow fever from the neck of southern culture. Though it offered hope, the nationwide presence of frugal domestic medicine in the South, as Elizabeth Barnaby Keeney suggests, was no more a match for the epidemic and endemic diseases of the day than was the

high culture medicine derived from the North or Europe and taught in the South. John Harley Warner concludes that the southern argument for regional medical distinctiveness was not unique to the South, but was expressed all around the nation as were the therapeutic practices.

Was the South an unhealthy place for whites to live in spite of slavery, or in part because of it? According to K. David Patterson, endemic or epidemic diseases that were of particular concern to southerners (and to northern observer-critics), such as malaria, yellow fever, and hookworm were imported with the slaves; infected slaves, and not the system of slavery itself, became a part of the rationalization. As Savitt details, slaves were treated with varying degrees of high culture therapeutics, and when unmet needs arose, which they often did, according to Elliott J. Gorn, folk beliefs such as black magic provided enduring support for afflicted African-Americans long before and after the legal importation of slaves, and slavery itself, ended.

The broad presence of slavery and non-urban conditions produced paradoxes. On the one hand, slaves attracted much scientific and medical attention, but regional therapeutics could not reduce disease among whites or slaves. As William K. Scarborough and Charles B. Dew argue, slavery facilitated the creation of a social system that tended to produce politicians rather than scientists, and limited the horizons for the technical solution of problems. Could both views be seen at once? E. Brooks Holifield notes that the ideal of the gentleman theologian to support the study of natural history because it was believed to elucidate scripture lost favor to revealed truth. To the last, slaves figured prominently in any scheme to enhance the health of the region. And, according to Samuel B. Thielman, on the eve of the Civil War treatment in asylums, North as well as South, imposed the segregation of black and white mental patients.

This is an important work. The essays and editorials focus will enliven and inform our lectures and our scholarly activity. This is a must read for all southern historians, and historians of science and medicine.

ERIC H. CHRISTIANSON
University of Kentucky

State Parties and National Politics: North Carolina, 1815-1861. By Thomas E. Jeffrey. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. xiv, 422. Tables, figures, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

Historians of the second American party system have disagreed over the relative importance of national, state, and local issues; and

advocates of the "new political history" have claimed that party loyalties at state and local levels were often shaped by ethnocultural factors. In this provocative book, Thomas Jeffrey, refusing to take sides in the debate, investigates the second party system in North Carolina upon the premise that "national, state, and local issues all played important roles in the functioning of the party system" (p. 2).

One of the most distinctive features of the second party system in North Carolina was its multisectional character. Even though easterners and westerners quarrelled for years over issues such as internal improvements and legislative reapportionment, "the alignment of parties bore surprisingly little resemblance to these long-standing sectional divisions" (p. 48). The Democrats and Whigs, like the Republicans and Federalists before them, had bastions of voter support in both sections of the state. The Whigs did best in the northeast, the central piedmont, and the far west. The Democrats were strong in the middle east, in the lower Cape Fear region, in the piedmont counties near the Virginia border, and in the area around Charlotte. Jeffrey suggests that "ethnocultural conflict may have played just as important a role in conditioning the pattern of party alignment in North Carolina as it did in the northern states" (p. 158).

Jeffrey challenges the "progressive paradigm" (p. 7) interpretation of political parties in antebellum North Carolina, developed in the pioneer works of John Spencer Bassett, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Clarence C. Norton, and Herbert D. Pegg; in numerous biographies; and in a much more sophisticated form, in Marc W. Kruman's 1983 study, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836-1865*. According to this viewpoint, victory almost invariably went to the party which aggressively championed reform. During the 1830s and 1840s, it was the Whigs who presented the people with a reform program—public schools, internal improvements, sound banks and currency, and the promotion of industry and agriculture. Unfortunately for the Whigs, long years in power dampened their reformism, and a rejuvenated Democratic party was able to ride to power in 1850 on the "free suffrage" issue (the removal of the fifty-acre property qualification for voting for state senators).

In contrast, Jeffrey contends that "neither party had a monopoly on progressivism, either before or after 1850. From their beginnings both parties contained progressive western elements and conservative eastern elements" (p. 10). For this reason, party leaders urged a policy of toleration on state issues and emphasized national issues "over which they could agree to disagree" (p. 315). The constitutional reform movement of the 1830s was bipartisan in character, as was the commitment to public education. Nor were the two parties monolithic on the question of state support for internal improvements. The Democrats, usually seen as anti-state aid while remaining officially silent on the question until 1854, nominated urban-dwelling support-

ers of internal improvements for governor in the 1840s. Mountain Democrats voted consistently for local improvement projects, and the party did not use its legislative muscle in 1842-1843 to cripple the nascent railroad system by voting down all relief measures.

The "Raleigh Clique" issue coupled with the Democratic exploitation of the white-basis of apportionment and school fund issues were the important forces behind David Reid's election as governor in 1850, not the free suffrage issue which "did not contribute significantly" (p. 215) to the outcome. The influence of the slavery in the territories issue on the decline of the Whig party in North Carolina has been greatly exaggerated as well. The Whigs, reincarnated in the mid-1850s as the Know Nothing party and in 1860 as the "Opposition," remained a viable political force.

Although Jeffrey would deny that he is presenting a "consensus" interpretation, he markedly narrows the ideological and social issue differences between the two state parties, except for the power of the president and the role that banks and corporations should play in the nation's economic life. But his legislative roll call data does not support the thrust of his argument about the position of the two parties on internal improvements. He notes that "the Whigs in each sectional delegation were substantially more inclined to vote for improvement bills than the Democrats" (pp. 192-93). The impression remains that the Whigs as a party, even if internally divided, were more "progressive" than the Democrats. Still, Jeffrey is to be commended for his willingness to tackle so many time-honored interpretations of North Carolina politics.

NORMAN D. BROWN
University of Texas
at Austin

Civil War Soldiers. By Reid Mitchell. (New York: Viking/Penguin, Inc., 1988. Pp. xi, 274. Notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 cloth, \$8.95 paper.)

Reid Mitchell has produced a superb study of the expectations and experiences of Civil War soldiers. This book joins a growing list of recent titles examining "popular thought" during America's greatest national crisis. Like other popular thought studies—including Gerald Linderman's *Embattled Courage*, Earl Hess's *Liberty, Virtue and Progress*, and this reviewer's *The Private Civil War*—Mitchell's study is based on extensive primary source research, including impressive archival research in personal letters and diaries, and focuses on what Bell Wiley called "the plain people," rather than on military, political, or intellectual leaders.

Mitchell begins by demonstrating that their shared past and culture led northerners and southerners to cast war objectives as part of a fight for freedom. Sectional stereotypes, however, led both sides to view the enemy as a savage. Mitchell uses prison experiences to illustrate the extremes of savagery that led soldiers to fear that war experiences would change men and create a lasting difference between veterans and civilians after the war. He also shows how military discipline and the horror of combat transformed citizen volunteers into soldiers. Union soldiers' views of the South changed as they encountered poverty and sloth, which dispelled romantic preconceptions. The Confederate experience involved extensive class conflict, including corruption, disaffection, and desertion. The South's will to fight waned as a result of its higher levels of casualties and sacrifices. In a succinct concluding chapter, Mitchell presages the failure of Reconstruction and the North's rejection of black equality. Both sides ignored the war's lessons, he concludes: the North by abdicating the responsibilities of victory, the South by creating the myth of the Lost Cause in order to avoid accepting defeat.

Most of this covers familiar ground. Other writers have provided more extensive treatment of many of Mitchell's topics. Yet this well-crafted study makes some important contributions. Its detailed examination of Lee's 1863 invasion of Pennsylvania, for example, clearly shows that given the opportunity Confederate soldiers could rival the hated Yankees in vandalism and destruction; military goals, more than superior breeding, led Lee to curtail unwarranted destruction of private property. Although less detailed than other studies in his treatment of combat experience, sectional perceptions, and other topics, Mitchell provides an excellent overview of Civil War soldiers' thoughts and experiences, covering many topics in a brief space.

A study as broad and ambitious as this can not satisfy every reader in all particulars, but this is a fascinating and important contribution to Civil War scholarship. Two limitations of the author's selection and emphasis are worth noting. Mitchell's focus on soldiers doesn't include much consideration of the important contact and interaction with the home front that the very existence of the letters he cites should indicate. It could be argued that the Civil War experience of both Union and Confederate soldiers cannot be fully understood without examining the views of women and male civilians, particularly southern women. Likewise, although he quotes extensively from personal letters and diaries, Mitchell does not give a full picture of the individuals he cites. Soldiers are seen *en masse*. Although Mitchell shows how war experiences changed southerners and northerners as social groups, his approach does not convey the changes undergone by individual men and women during these tumultuous years.

Such complaints aside, this is a significant and engrossing account of Civil War soldiers. It adds important new information and perspec-

tives to our understanding of popular thought during the Civil War, a period increasingly rich in studies of common people caught up in America's greatest national crisis.

RANDALL C. JIMERSON
University of Connecticut

The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth and Sallie Bird. Edited by John Rozier. Foreword by Theodore Rosen-garten. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. Pp. xxxvi, 330. Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

The battles over the Civil War may never cease. From its very name to hundreds if not thousands of contested issues, this American event has continued to captivate scholars of our past and certainly readers of history. Although military history still holds powerful sway over the field, the steady march of social historians has brought new meaning to our appreciation of this dynamic epoch. We are better able to understand the grand sweep of events not merely by studying troop movements in sandboxes at the front of the classroom, but by delving into the era through the lives of ordinary men and women. Reid Mitchell's study of soldiers' daily lives, Ira Berlin *et al.*'s powerful documentation of the African-American experience through the papers of the Freedmen's Bureau, George Rable's look at the roles of white southern women during wartime, all testify to the vitality of an emerging social history of the Civil War.

For those of us trying to recreate a piece of this dramatic past, many rely on the heroic efforts of editors such as John Rozier. Increasingly, we are beholden to the skill, patience, curiosity and dedication of those who labor in family collections, sifting through the reams of private correspondence to provide us with the story of one family's wartime experience: a crossroads of time, space, people and events. Rozier, like Robert Manson Myers before him, has chosen to let the letters of the Bird family of Hancock County, Georgia speak for themselves; his introductory section headings, generous footnotes and elaborate citations provide us with suitable context. Rozier's creativity and insight are demonstrated, for example, when a letter dated October 21, 1863 reveals problems with a male slave, and Rozier comments in a footnote, "The troubles with the Bird slaves occurred at the time eighteen Hancock County blacks were jailed for attempting to incite an insurrection," and then goes on to document the case. His impeccable notes are a gold mine for anyone interested in pursuing not only the Bird family, but rural Georgia during war-time.

Even for those who are *not* particularly taken with Edgeworth Bird, his wife Sallie and his daughter Sallie (Saida), whose correspon-

dence form the core of the Granite Farm letters, this handsome volume is a welcome addition to the growing body of Civil War source material. The news from Georgia, the bravado of Confederates at war—who claim, in language deservedly highlighted by the editor, “The army here thinks it can whip its weight in wild cats . . .” (p. 145), the mundane details of family life, the stress of separation and fears of death all combine to form a riveting glimpse of conflict by examining scribbles in one small corner of the canvas.

We see the war through the behind-the-scenes machinations, as Edgeworth describes the view from Richmond in August 1864: “General Lee spent nearly a whole day in consultation with the President, t’is said, so tell your Grandma to feel easy. It is all arranged to gobble up Sherman. If the old ‘Butcher’ [Grant] wasn’t so pertinacious along the Weldon Road, we’d send our Lee down to solace the Georgians for a week or so . . .” (p. 185). We frequently are treated to the view from the homefront by women’s observations, as when Cornelia Ann Soullard confides to a woman friend, “There is a vast difference between the loss of 15,000 men and 2,500 men, the latter being the number given today. How strange it is that we can’t have a direct and true account. We are so often kept in needless agony for days . . .” (p. 60). Soullard goes on to provide a graphic image of Confederate women’s plight in describing a colonel’s wife “who lives just opposite me, is confined with her first child, all alone, and now not even able to hear from her husband” (p. 61). Our appreciation of the horrors of war seems deepened and broadened by the delicate rendering of such dismal detail.

But the war story does not consume the entire text. The Birds are a devoted couple whose letters provide a rich record of marital intimacy. They pledge themselves in flowery language throughout the text: “Darling, good night, a world of love to you. What can I say? You’re in my heart and soul. You are loved more than woman ever was,” Edgeworth writes to his wife in September 1861 (p. 31). His lavish emotional style spills over into his letters to his daughter as well, and these passions are returned by both his Sallie Birds. The parent-child relationship is chronicled exhaustively in this account through the correspondence with their daughter Saida—and less so with the letters to their son Wilson (Bud).

Finally, the Bird family, like many white southerners of the era, demonstrate the blind racism imbedded in the champions of the Confederate cause. Edgeworth warns his wife in 1863: “Any man who advocates reconstruction should be hung to the nearest tree. Disband our armies, and mind never dreamed of such a scene as the South would soon represent: murder, rapine, conflagration” (p. 145). Bird sent several letters to his wife fearfully forecasting that all the slave men would desert his plantation for the forest. He predicts that if they are snared by the Union army they will end up sacrificed like

those ex-slave soldiers who perished at Petersburg and Fort Pillow. Edgeworth Bird directs his wife to tell a favored slave, "I look to him to be true and faithful" and proclaims "Any negro who knows what is for his good will never let the Yanks get him" (p. 196). The tension in these letters during the last months of the war is palpable: Bird fearing for his wife and daughter trapped in Hancock County, dwindling reassurances that the Union army will be driven back, and mounting concerns over the future of his "servants."

Bird survived the collapse of the Confederacy, but not the management of his own plantation after the demise of slavery. Rozier explains: "In the cold snowy days of early January 1867 Edgeworth Bird set out to kill hogs and thus provide meat for his family for the coming months. The restless blacks, moving out of slavery, held back and would not sign contracts for the coming year" (p. 292). Subsequently, Bird died of pneumonia caught while supervising the hog slaughter. Although the epilogue traces the fortunes of Saida Bird and her family's struggles, we await another text to tell us the fate of the other residents of Granite Farm. Both Rozier in his introduction and Ted Rosengarten in his foreword remind us that two-thirds of Hancock County residents were African-American during the 1860s.

What happened to those restless blacks who resisted coercion? If Bird was "the highest type of slaveowner" by being a "humane and kindly master" (p. xxix) as Rozier comments, (for which we must take Rozier's word with little evidence in the text beyond the perfunctory "howdye" to the servants), why did his former slaves refuse his offers of employment? Rozier has tried to indicate some of the lessons we might learn from Bird's experiences with the fall of slavery, but a reader might wish for more analysis of this critical issue rather than descriptions of dogwoods and palatial homes. In short, the letters tell only part of the story, though it is a story the editor makes fascinating. Perhaps because, as he reveals, Rozier is a native of Hancock County and knowing many of the families mentioned, he is able to infuse his text with a special sense of place. This sensibility, a staple in southern letters, merits our attention even though scholars might have hoped for a broader perspective.

CATHERINE CLINTON
Brandeis University

Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. xxvii, 664. Illustrations, figures, notes, index. \$34.95.)

Edward Porter Alexander wrote two accounts of the Army of Northern Virginia's campaigns during the Civil War. The first one,

published in 1907 under the title *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, has long been regarded as a classic by Civil War scholars. Indeed, upon publication that work almost instantly acquired a reputation among historians and buffs alike as one of the most objective and insightful firsthand accounts of Civil War military campaigns ever written by a veteran of that conflict. What most historians have not known until publication of this book is that *Military Memoirs* was actually the *second* version written by Alexander and was, in fact, a less complete derivative of the first.

Alexander began his wartime memoirs in 1897, largely to satisfy the urging of his daughter, Bessie Ficklen, who sent him two small ledger books for the project. At first intending to write a brief account for the sole amusement of his family, Alexander soon got caught up in the project and twenty-eight months later he had produced a twelve hundred-page manuscript. In 1901, he determined to write a more formal account of the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia, this time for publication. In his desire "to tell the story professionally," Alexander returned to his old manuscript, discarded most of the personal references and anecdotes and either eliminated or softened many of the criticisms of individuals. After making his revisions and excising about a third of the original manuscript, he published the leaner, but less pithy, work as *Military Memoirs*. The unpublished larger version languished for three quarters of a century, until Gary Gallagher undertook the massive task of restoring it for publication. He painstakingly separated the pages of the original manuscript from the 1907 version, removed duplications, and supplied data that Alexander had omitted from the first manuscript. The result differs so markedly from *Military Memoirs* that it is for all intents and purposes a fresh, new work.

Like *Military Memoirs*, *Fighting for the Confederacy* contains the sort of careful analysis of strategic and tactical problems that only a professional soldier could make. However, the more critical approach taken in *Fighting for the Confederacy*, together with its more pungent language and wealth of entertaining anecdotes, combine to make it an even greater work than its famous predecessor.

Alexander's non-partisan tone is almost unique among Civil War memoirs. He sprinkled both his criticism and praise upon friend and foe alike. Although he criticized Burnside, Hooker, Pope and Sherman on the Federal side (he could not excuse the latter for his depredations in Alexander's home state of Georgia), he nevertheless admired other Union commanders. For example, he frequently praised Grant for his tenacity and fighting spirit. Commenting on Joe Hooker's "collapse of moral courage" at Chancellorsville, Alexander observed: "Had it been Grant in command he would not have dreamed of giving up the fight" (p. 217). Moreover, he was as scathing in his criticism of some Confederate leaders, Braxton Bragg, e.g.,

as he was of any Yankee general. Even Jackson and Lee, both of whom Alexander revered, came in for criticism, the former for his inactivity during the Seven Days Battles, the latter for his decisions to go on the offensive after Second Manassas, in 1862, and again after Chancellorsville, in 1863, instead of sending troops to the critical western theater. He called Lee's decision to fight a vastly superior army at Sharpsburg "the greatest military blunder that Gen. Lee ever made" (p. 145). Alexander's non-partisanship even extended to the war's casualties: he was as saddened by the deaths of Yankee acquaintances from West Point and "old army" days as over his fallen compatriots in grey.

The book is not perfect. Alexander occasionally repeated himself (e.g., he twice told the story of a near duel between his artillery captains, George Moody and Pichegru Woolfolk [p. 161 and pp. 230-31]), and he had a disconcerting habit of beginning a story, then telling the reader that he would come back to it later. Since he did not have immediate access to the data he needed, the author frequently put in blanks where numbers of troops or casualties belonged. It would have been most helpful had the editor filled the blanks in the text, perhaps placing them in brackets to show that they had not been in the original manuscript. Instead, the reader must constantly turn to the end notes for this information. Indeed, because of the extensive editorial notes and the cumbersome size of the book, it would have been ever so convenient had the editor (or publisher) decided to place the notes at the bottom of each page. Nevertheless, Gallagher has, on the whole, done a magnificent job. In large measure because of his efforts, *Fighting for the Confederacy* unquestionably will join the ranks of those standard works that every serious student of the Civil War will want to read.

DONALD E. REYNOLDS
East Texas State University

Antietam: Essays on the 1862 Maryland Campaign. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989. Pp. ix, 102. Illustrations, bibliographic note, index. \$17.50 cloth, \$8.95 paper.)

The five brief, unfootnoted essays in *Antietam* are the product of a conference on the Maryland campaign which met in 1988 at the Mont Alto campus of Pennsylvania State University where the editor, Gary W. Gallagher, teaches. They stem from the authors' beliefs that military history remains crucial to any full understanding of the nation's greatest social and political upheaval, and that the battle of Antietam was a decisive turning point of the Civil War. The authors

make no claim to providing definitive answers; their purpose, according to the introduction, is to inspire readers to explore the Maryland campaign in greater depth.

Antietam consists, in order, of "The Autumn of 1862: A Season of Opportunity," by Gallagher; "Drama between the Rivers: Harpers Ferry in the 1862 Maryland Campaign," by Dennis E. Frye; "The Army of Northern Virginia in September 1862: Its Circumstances, Its Opportunities, and Why It Should Not Have Been at Sharpsburg," by Robert K. Krick; "I Fought the Battle Splendidly": George B. McClellan and the Maryland Campaign," by A. Wilson Greene; and "The Maryland Campaign in Perspective," by Gallagher. With the exception of the editor, the contributors are present or former employees of the National Park Service.

Greene's witty, well-written article on George B. McClellan acknowledges the Federal commander's organizational skills and his unique ability to inspire the common soldiers, but he accuses McClellan of "discarding the best opportunity ever offered to destroy the Confederacy's principal field army" (p. 83). Greene's portrait of McClellan is familiar. The general's innate caution, exacerbated by Allan Pinkerton's faulty intelligence reports, made him loathe to risk the army upon which, he believed, the destiny of the nation rested. Slow in movement during the campaign, McClellan's tactical mismanagement of the battle of Antietam allowed Robert E. Lee to escape the consequences of his own miscalculations. Consequently, the nation faced "thirty-one additional months of Civil War" (p. 83).

Frye's article on Harpers Ferry captures the drama of a campaign which resulted in the largest surrender of Federal troops during the conflict. While recounting the well-known errors made by the Union defenders, he also emphasizes the shortcomings of the southern performance. For the latter, Frye argues, Lee was ultimately to blame, as he devised a timetable patently beyond the capabilities of his worn-out, footsore soldiers. Because it led to the disadvantageous stand against McClellan along Antietam Creek, Lee in his desire to capture Harpers Ferry "almost gambled his army into extinction" (p. 15).

Krick is also critical of Lee, although this is mixed with obvious hero worship. In his analysis of the Virginia army in 1862, Krick defends Lee's decision to invade Maryland despite the ragged, exhausted condition of his troops. The need to spare Virginia during the harvest season, the desire to liberate secessionists in Maryland, and the possibility of achieving foreign recognition through a victory north of the Potomac combined to make the risk worthwhile. But once in Maryland, circumstances changed. Knowing that McClellan possessed his plans (the famous Lost Order episode) and faced with a straggling rate that reduced his army by a third, Lee should have withdrawn to Virginia, for he no longer had any reasonable hope of accomplishing his goals. Lee's decision to fight at Antietam "was a bad one, probably his worst of the war" (p. 55).

Gallagher criticizes Lee even more forcefully in his two articles, which are the best of the collection. He contends that Lee's army was in such poor shape in September of 1862 that it "stood scant chance of seizing the political, diplomatic, and military opportunities that have fascinated students of the Maryland campaign" (p. 12). Deficiencies in clothing, shoddy footwear, and diarrhea produced massive straggling. Gallagher argues, however, that these factors alone cannot explain the large-scale desertion which plagued Lee's army before, during, and after the campaign. Attrition at lower command levels, wanton looting, and massive casualties from the summer's battles undercut morale so badly that an "unprecedented percentage" of Lee's men "simply refused to fight in Maryland" (p. 11). Only the Federals possessed real opportunities in the fall of 1862, for by fighting at Antietam on September 17, and even worse, by not retreating the next day, the Confederate commander "irresponsibly placed at peril his entire army" (p. 89).

Criticism of McClellan is commonplace in Civil War historiography; criticism of Lee is not. By placing North and South under the same microscope, with remarkably little bias, the contributors to *Antietam* have provided the food for thought which constitutes their stated objective.

WILLIAM GARRETT PISTON
Southwest Missouri State University

Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers. By Joseph T. Glatthaar. (New York: Free Press, 1989. Pp. xiii, 370. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

With this book and his earlier *The March to the Sea and Beyond*, Joseph T. Glatthaar becomes one of our leading historians of the American soldier during the Civil War. What makes *Forged in Battle* stand out in the growing literature on the Civil War soldier is that it concerns black Americans. Glatthaar has written the fullest account we have of the United States Colored Troops (USCT), those black soldiers and white officers who contributed so mightily to Union victory.

Glatthaar's research provides a model for other social historians of American soldiers. *Forged in Battle* uses statistical sampling, a wealth of letters and diaries, and official records to recreate the world of officers and men. From this research comes a vivid portrait of the black soldiers' war. Glatthaar traces their history from the federal decision to employ black troops, their recruitment, and their socialization into the military, to their experiences of individual and institutional racism, combat, occupation duty in the postwar South, and

their final mustering out. In his last chapter, "Life After the USCT," Glatthaar has used pension records in such a way as to embarrass historians who have thought tracing postwar careers of Union soldiers too difficult.

As rich as his sources are, in some ways they limit Glatthaar's enterprise. The white officers left behind a far larger body of material, making the determination of their attitudes and motivations far easier. Glatthaar argues that those who chose to command black troops acted generally from idealistic impulses. Most of them, he says, disliked slavery before the war even began. The officer corps was made up largely of Republicans and men influenced by Protestant reform. Most importantly, the government drew on veterans—soldiers already in the ranks—to officer the new black units. Their war experience had convinced them of the need to destroy slavery and make use of black manpower. Glatthaar believes that the officers of the USCT were both ideologically more motivated and better trained as a whole than their fellow officers in the volunteer army. And he sees their joint military experience "forging" an alliance between these white officers and the black soldiers who fought with—but under—them.

But the subtitle of this book is "The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers" and that "Civil War" is an important modifier. The alliance between white officers and black soldiers seemed to have been not so much "forged" as "knitted"—after the war it became unravelled. Glatthaar shows that most officers, true to the paternalistic ethos that inspired them, opposed black equality.

What of the black soldiers themselves? Here Glatthaar runs into a problem. Too often we have to glimpse these soldiers only through white eyes. Needless to say, this problem is not of Glatthaar's invention. Throughout, Glatthaar listens carefully to black voices and re-creates their war with sympathy and shrewdness.

Glatthaar's earlier work on Sherman's army serves him well here. He understands the experience of white Union soldiers. He is usually careful to distinguish between treatment meted out to black soldiers because they were soldiers and that meted out because they were black. Perhaps because of his earlier work, however, Glatthaar's standard for comparison—and thus for attributing racism as a motive—is the treatment accorded Union veteran volunteers in the latter part of the war; possibly he would have discovered treatment more like that endured by blacks had he considered how white conscripts or foreign-born soldiers were treated in the same period. But racism is indisputable in so many of the ways black soldiers were ill-used: their inferior equipment, their lower pay, their types of duty, their lack of promotion.

The hardest thing to determine is the extent of affection and respect felt by the black soldiers for their white officers. Was the

alliance that the war forged one of convenience or one of sentiment? Judging mutuality in a hierarchical situation is always difficult, and is more so when the bulk of the direct evidence comes from those who enjoy superiority. The white officers believed their black soldiers respected them—but officers usually believe that of their men, bosses frequently believe that of their workers, and masters thought it true of their slaves. In the case of these soldiers, particularly the freedmen so skilled at “putting on ole massa,” one has to wonder how successful their officers were at reading their attitudes.

In the end, Glatthaar, like the officers, is forced to infer attitudes primarily from behavior. He argues that affection and respect did grow mutually, that the soldiers came to trust their officers. What he also shows is that the soldiers never let this trust, as deep as it was, challenge their commitment to their race and their rights. When white officers insisted on black inferiority—inferiority they thought a political stigma for at least this generation of freed people—the black soldiers sadly but firmly rejected their council.

This is a moving and frequently painful story. Professor Glatthaar tells it well.

REID MITCHELL
Princeton University

Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy. By W. Harrison Daniel. (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Baptist Historical Society, 1989. Pp. iii, 178. Notes, index. \$10.00.)

W. Harrison Daniel states that *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* is the product of his “persistent . . . interest” (p. iii). The admirable completeness of Daniel’s endnotes—at least in terms of primary sources—is indeed a demonstration of the author’s dedication. Daniel’s intense archival passion is evident in *Southern Protestantism* and indeed constitutes its primary asset. Furthermore, Daniel’s narrative is clear and lucid. Since the author’s apparent intent was to provide a comprehensive survey of the southern Protestant response to and subsequent participation in the Confederate crusade, Daniel’s *opus* is also a valuable source of suggested thesis and/or dissertation topics. Therefore, the principal merit of *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* is that it is a succinct and accessible introduction—at least in terms of basic factual information—to the study of the Confederate churches.

Nevertheless, Daniel’s merits—his evident command of the pertinent primary sources—are also the source of several important limitations. The principal limitation of *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* is Daniel’s disregard of the distinction between a historian and

an antiquarian—the element of analysis. Daniel's presentation of the factual data—such data as the number of complete Bibles printed in the South and later distributed in the Confederate camps or the names and subsequent careers of southern churchmen who entered the army—is impressive and indeed earns respect, but Daniel's consistent failure to speculate upon the *significance* of such data tends to reduce the products of his dedicated research to the unmerited status of sheer historical trivia.

Daniel's second important limitation is a product of the first. The primary contribution of southern Protestants to the Confederate nation—as Drew Gilpin Faust argues—was ideological. The pulpit rhetoric of evangelical clergymen in fact provided the ideological basis of the Confederate defense of southern nationalism. Nevertheless, Daniel seems oblivious to the importance of ideas and instead concentrates upon the production of interminable catalogs of things—printed Bibles, damaged churches, and chaplains' uniforms. Daniel's final chapter, entitled “The Effects of the War on Southern Protestantism,” disregards the impact of the Civil War upon the spirits and minds of southern Protestants and instead concentrates upon its damage to their property. The result is to diminish further the reader's sense of the importance of such a tremendously important subject.

Furthermore, the endnotes suggest that Daniel's command of the relevant secondary sources—in particular the products of current scholarship—is not comparable to his mastery of primary sources. Such a lapse causes *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* to appear parochial in its presentation of data—there is no sense of the interaction between events in the churches and the progress of the larger southern crisis—and at certain moments painfully uncritical in its acceptance of Confederate Protestant evaluations of contemporary events. Daniel's evident lack of critical perspective therefore causes him to produce statements such as “Most of them [the slaves] remained loyal to their master, worked the fields in his absence, served him while in camp, prayed for his success” and “cared for him while the Federals raided his home” (p. 139). Such a statement—printed in a book published in 1989—suggests the reasons God made Stanley Elkins.

Nevertheless, Daniel's limitations do not serve to negate—at least not entirely—the initial impression of his book's merits. *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* remains a useful basic introduction to a subject that continues to deserve the careful attention of contemporary scholars.

RONALD G. LEE
Rice University

The Union League Movement in the New South: Politics and Agricultural Change During Reconstruction. By Michael W. Fitzgerald. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. Pp. x, 283. Notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

This book represents the first full-length monograph devoted to the history of the Union League since the era of the Dunning historians. Ostensibly the account of the League in Mississippi and Alabama, the book actually focuses primarily upon the latter. The success of the League in Alabama, in stark contrast to its mixed record in Mississippi, hinged upon the total commitment of the military leaders, the skillfully and centrally organized Freedmen's Bureau, and the existence of clusters of poor white Unionist farmers to form the initial backbone of the League. Its political role is well known, and in both states the League served as a Radical caucus within the Republican party. What is new and particularly important in this study is the wealth of detail on the scope of the power of the League in effecting significant social and economic change in the lives of the freedmen. In rural areas where black fury at the revival of the gang system of labor and the frustration of being unable to rent or buy land festered, the League advised blacks on legal and other professional matters with employers. In urban areas where blacks facing hunger and unemployment encountered harsh vagrancy laws and consignment to the chain gang, League-backed political activity stalemated the Klan and organized campaigns of civil disobedience to redress black grievances. The freedmen's intense landowning aspirations led to the most fundamental economic change of the postwar period—the disintegration of centralized cotton plantations and the emergence of the tenant farming system. Ultimately, this system of isolated farms scattered over wide areas left freedmen vulnerable to the depredations of the Klan, and employers were able to restore the discipline and domination that had collapsed while freedmen possessed strength in concentrated numbers in gangs on plantations.

While focused on the activities of the Union League, this book also provides a stunning delineation of the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama and Mississippi. No book-length monographs exist on the Bureau for either state, but we now have an extraordinary insight into a pair of opposites in how the Bureau operated in the South. Alabama's efficient, highly centralized, patronage-wielding Bureau contrasted sharply with its pallid counterpart in Mississippi. The portrait of General Wager Swayne, assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama (not military governor of Alabama), is the most complete and revealing yet written.

Manuscript collections across the country have been extensively mined for this work. Nevertheless, some misconceptions occur.

Alabama's Unionists, the backbone of the early Union League in the state, possessed far greater diversity of backgrounds than the author has suggested. Some of the important Unionist leaders discussed in this book were college-educated, professional, wealthy, or politically influential men, hardly poor white yeoman farmers. Also, the author accorded less importance to the strength of the enormously strong racial prejudice among whites than most revisionist historians have noted. That powerful prejudice explains the flight of southern whites from the Leagues as blacks joined in late 1866 and 1867 and also why Alabama and Mississippi scalawag governors flinched at the idea of organizing militias (which would have been black) for Republican protection from a white Klan. Republican defeats in Alabama elections resulted from combinations of many causes and should not be attributed just to successful Klan attacks on the League.

The book is written in a very plain manner. Each chapter opens with almost a page to tell the reader what will follow; then, without any transition, come the details and proof of the introduction's general assertions; finally, without any transition, a lengthy summary reminds the reader what has been read. The important information provided deserves a more graceful presentation.

Some of the material in this book is not new, as would be more evident if relevant periodical literature had been cited in the footnotes. However, the book's focus on the role of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League in reconstructing postwar social and economic life will make this book essential reading for students of Reconstruction and southern history.

SARAH WOOLFOLK WIGGINS
University of Alabama

Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America. By Sara Evans. (New York: The Free Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 386. Illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95.)

The publication of a new overview of American women's history provides both a chance to evaluate the state of the field and the ability of the author to create a comprehensive, readable study from the material available. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*, by Sara Evans reflects the strengths and weaknesses of current research on American women and of the author's own approach.

Evans traces women's history from the beginnings of colonial settlement to current times in a lively and engaging style. She has made good use of recent work on northern Native American women, of writings by women in the twentieth century, of works on the history of the family, and of research on northern reform movements in the

nineteenth century. Given the wealth of sources available on women's history it is not surprising that there are materials she did not use that would have strengthened her book, such as Leslie Tentler's *Wage-Earning Women*, Theda Perdue's and William McLoughlin's studies on the Cherokee, and the work of Glenda Riley and Susan Armitage on women in the West.

Evans argues that women have been active shapers of their own lives, refashioning the boundaries set by society and finding room for themselves despite male control of public life. Evans traces a series of tradeoffs in women's lives rather than outlining a simplistic progression from oppression to liberation. Women's family roles in the colonial period gave them access to informal power economics, religion and education. However, for most women colonial life was hard work and harsh. The redefinition of public and private and of men's and women's roles during the era of the American Revolution, however, traded many of these powers for an enhanced family life. It also provided a definition of womanhood and domesticity that both restricted women and provided a rationale for new public roles, including eventually the vote. In the twentieth century women traded the strength and support of female networks for the rights of an individual.

Unfortunately Evans has not escaped the interpretative paradigm of earlier histories of American women. The story continues to be told from the point of view of northeastern, urban women. The major discussion of western women and southern women focus on race, slavery, and Native American lives. Material on western women is simply missing except for some on Native Americans in the nineteenth century and Chicanas in the twentieth. Recent work on nineteenth-century borderlands women, early twentieth-century immigrants from Japan, or women as homesteaders is overlooked.

Surprisingly, given Evans's previous work on the South, the study presents a distorted picture of southern lives, emphasizing negative aspects of the South and positive aspects of northern life. For example, she discusses only removal of southern tribes to the West. Students reading this will not realize that northern states are equally culpable. Reform, she argues, was a northern phenomenon. There is no mention of southern urban efforts to provide and improve state institutions of education and benevolence, no mention that the South had utopian communities or temperance societies before the Civil War. Her book even begins with material on New England colonial women. Women in the Chesapeake and rice cultures appear only to emphasize the high rates of death and the development of slavery in the areas. The major discussions of southern women in the twentieth century concern the anti-lynching campaign and civil rights.

Another oversight is equally troubling. Religion disappears from the book after 1840, only to reappear in the 1970s. In the intervening

pages she occasionally refers to the importance of religion to women, but there is no content exploring the changes in women's religious lives. Thus her study overlooks the development of Protestant and Catholic religious orders and development of national women's organizations in churches. The narrative skips from total exclusion of women from the ministry to the recent struggles for ordination without exploring a century of change, including the opening of religious seminaries to women, the extension of the church franchise, and the role of religion in the thought of Progressive-era reformers.

A survey text should be free of errors, but several appear. Only eleven women, not fourteen, were ordained in an irregular (not "illegal") Episcopal ordination in Philadelphia in 1974. Three other women were ordained later that year (p. 296). Evans refers to "The young Putnam women who accused their mother's generation" (p. 32) of witchcraft, but the major Putnam accusers were a mother and daughter. The Great Awakening in the southern colonies did not occur in the 1730s and 1740s, but stretched from the 1740s through the 1770s (p. 41).

Thus although *Born for Liberty* is an improvement on previous women's history texts (and certainly worthwhile for a general reader), we are still in search of one which defines a more encompassing paradigm not based on the traditional northeastern perspective.

JOAN R. GUNDERSEN
California State University,
San Marcos

A New Perspective: Southern Women's Cultural History from the Civil War to Civil Rights. Edited by Priscilla Cortelyou Little and Robert C. Vaughan. (Charlottesville: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 1988. Pp. vi, 90. Illustrations, notes, chronology, bibliography. \$10.00.)

Scholarship in women's studies has once again benefited from the farsightedness of state humanities councils. This slim but significant volume of essays is the result of the collaboration of fourteen southern state humanities councils, which in 1988 held a conference to discuss "the state of scholarship on southern women's cultural history from 1860-1960" (p. iii) at the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, D.C. *A New Perspective* comprises the proceedings of that conference and includes the writings of some of the best known authors of women's studies in the nation. Elizabeth Jacoway's introduction charts the course for the writing that follows: Nancy F. Cott on the South's role in the women's rights movement, Nancy A. Hewitt on women and work, Jacqueline Jones on women and families,

Jessie J. Poesch on women in the visual arts, Thadious M. Davis on women and literature, and Judith Lang Zaimont and Mary Brown Hinely on women and music. Anne Scott's "Conclusions, Trends, and Future Directions" summarizes the whole and offers suggestions for future state projects that will bring the cultural history of women before the public.

The body of the book divides itself easily into two parts. The first three essays are written by historians and focus on subjects familiar to scholars of the South—women's rights, work, and family history. Cott's approach to understanding the role of the South in a national women's rights movement, however, is unique in that she sees race and slavery as essential to the formation of a viable national mobilization in four distinct historical periods: the antebellum abolition reform movement, the Reconstruction black voting rights struggle, the turn-of-the-century move toward black disfranchisement, and the modern civil rights movement. Nancy Hewitt and Jacqueline Jones complement one another in their discussions of women, work, and families. The intertwining of the three is apparent, whether they describe sharecropping, mill and tobacco factory labor, homemaking or domestic service, volunteering, or professional occupations. The peculiarly southern intermingling of work and family, the inability to separate private and public, and the continuity between home and community for southern women are themes that cut across race and class lines. The remaining three essays carefully review the contributions that southern women of both races have made to the fields of literature, visual arts, and music.

In Anne Scott's concluding article, she gives greater attention to the essays formulated by historians and by the literary critic than to those essays written about southern women artists and musicians. By implication, she is saying that politics, work, family, and writing are more important topics in women's cultural history than needlework, quilting, painting, sculpture, musicianship, and composing. This is where a badly needed definition of southern women's cultural history would have added clarification. Culture in its broadest sense can and should include politics, work, and family, but women's involvement in the fine arts should not be relegated to the back of the book nor neglected in summary. For decades southern women's artistic efforts, which they took very seriously, were either trivialized by male critics or shunted into local art leagues, women's clubs, or all-woman orchestras, where fortunately they blossomed. Studies of southern women's culture must begin to include more of the inspirational and creative activities that were important to them, must begin just as Jessie Poesch, Judith Lang Zaimont, and Mary Brown Hinely have done in hunting and gathering the histories of women who spent their lives pursuing art and music and in relating their struggles and triumphs. There were, of course, the influential artists—black and white—

whose names have become synonymous with success: Selma Burke, whose sculpture of President Franklin D. Roosevelt is found on every dime; Olga Samaroff, Texas pianist whose debut at Carnegie Hall in 1904 launched a concert career; Mahalia Jackson, queen of gospel; Marian Anderson and Leontyne Price, opera stars; Ma ("Mother of the Blues") Rainey, jazz singer who recorded with Louis Armstrong; and country musician Mother Maybelle Carter. The less well known are just beginning to emerge from obscurity thanks to this study; among them are artist Alice Ravenel Huger Smith, whose watercolors delicately record visions of low country splendor; writer Harriet Almaria Baker Suddoth ("Lumina Silvervale"), whose autobiography confounds and refutes the image of the southern belle/lady; and black composer Florence Smith Price, whose prize-winning symphonies were performed by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra during the 1930s.

A New Perspective is a beacon pointing the way toward needed future scholarship on women's cultural history of the South. More work needs to be done on the role played by choral, literary, and artistic women's clubs that fostered women's ambitions and provided an instructive climate of appreciation for women interested in the arts. The Art Students' League of New York trained most of the southern women artists mentioned in this book; a study of its influence can reveal much regarding the technical training applied by women artists to uniquely southern vistas and to the impact that study in the North may have brought to the southern art world. And finally, much can be learned about the "theme of self-expression as a means of survival" (p. 63), as suggested by Thadious Davis and as it is portrayed by southern women artists. Before this can happen, however, that which has been "rendered for contemporary and future generations" by southern women (p. 63) must be "rediscovered," brought to light, and analyzed. These are the tasks awaiting students of women's culture in the South.

ELIZABETH H. TURNER
*University of North Carolina
at Charlotte*

A Mountain Heritage: The Illustrated History of Western Carolina University. By Curtis W. Wood and H. Tyler Blethen. (Cullowhee, N.C.: Western Carolina University, 1989. Pp. xiii, 225. Illustrations, index. \$25.00.)

The history of Western Carolina University typifies the experience of many regional universities that are ranked in the "second tier" of higher education in America yet accomplish far more than the label implies. Beginning as a high school academy in the late

nineteenth century, Western Carolina evolved into a normal school, a teachers college, and finally a multi-purpose four-year university when the post-World War II baby boomers entered college in the 1960s. To celebrate its centennial, faculty members Curtis Wood and Tyler Blethen have produced a richly illustrated institutional history that accentuates the positive while acknowledging that progress has not always come easily. Certainly the book is primarily intended for alumni and friends of the university; but the authors address issues that should interest wider audiences as well.

Through three hundred photographs and a carefully constructed narrative, Wood and Blethen suggest that Western Carolina has drawn its strength from three sources. The most influential is a vision that its first president, Robert L. Madison, called the "Cullowhee Idea"—the preparation of teachers for rural and small-town classrooms throughout the Blue Ridge Mountains. Teacher training has dominated the school's curriculum, shaped its academic and administrative structure, determined the size and makeup of its student body, and fixed its identity. The university has also benefited from the leadership and lifelong commitment of a number of educators. Madison was a major presence on campus from the very first day until at least 1950; W. Ernest Bird's association with the school as student, professor, dean, and acting president extended from 1910 to 1957. Finally, Western Carolina has been sustained by the loyalty of the surrounding community. Popular stereotypes of an ignorant and fatalistic mountain society hardly apply to the Cullowhee Valley, the authors point out. Local residents themselves initiated the establishment of the school and for many years provided the financial and material support it needed to survive and grow.

Wood and Blethen also note the more difficult challenges the university has faced. Each transition from one institutional form to another has generated debates over degree programs, and student unrest along with several abrupt changes in administrative leadership convulsed the campus in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Another recurrent dilemma may be particularly hard for public universities like Western Carolina to resolve. State appropriations have been critically important, but they have also been subject to a host of circumstances that have delayed or reduced funding for projects and programs. Intensifying the problem has been the presence of a prestigious flagship university at Chapel Hill which has affected Western Carolina's autonomy, its relationship with other state universities, and its status as an academic institution.

The commemorative purpose of this book and its "top-down" approach limit coverage of some areas, such as the creation of a multi-racial student body and the cultural interaction between the university and Appalachia. Nevertheless, the authors have shown that Western

Carolina University can rightfully claim a century-long record of service to its home region. For that there is cause for celebration.

JOHN M. GLEN
Ball State University

Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906. By James Harvey Young. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989. Pp. xiii, 312. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95.)

The Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906 was one of the important legislative achievements of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency. For the chief executive in his second term, the law admirably represented what he called the Square Deal. In its use of regulatory power and bureaucratic enforcement the measure also looked forward to the New Nationalism of 1910-1912. As a result of its ideological importance, this progressive law has produced an abundance of historical accounts that have probed its origins and weighed its significance.

No previous treatment of the Pure Food Act can now match the complexity and thoroughness of James Harvey Young's new study. The Emory University professor is a renowned historian of medicine and its intersection with public policy. Such works as *The Toadstool Millionaires* (1961) and *The Medical Messiahs* (1967) have established Young's mastery of the sources and interpretations that deal with how Americans have tried to cure their ills and improve their health. Using the rich knowledge that this research has given him, Young has written a history of the law that reaches back into the mid-nineteenth century to show how slowly and painfully the pure food campaign developed in American society. With a skillful hand, Young draws all his themes together as his narrative moves toward the climactic events of 1906.

From the Drug Importation Act of 1848 down to the beginnings of congressional consideration of pure food laws in 1879, the American people became aware of the multiple threats to their food and drug supply. As a congressional committee reported in 1879: "The rapid advance of chemical science has opened a wide doorway for compounding mixtures so nearly resembling nature's products that the senses are impotent to detect the difference" (p. 51). Identifying the problems that adulterated food and drugs posed was one major concern but finding a legislative answer was an even more intractable dilemma.

Because the question of food and drugs touched on so many economic interests in the United States, it was a complex task to pass a regulatory law. In that sense the Pure Food law anticipated similar

policy struggles in the century ahead. Food processors, liquor manufacturers, dairy farmers, drug companies, and consumers, among many others, lobbied Capitol Hill to achieve a law that safeguarded their particular interest. Young unravels the tangle of intersecting constituents with impressive skill. He is admirably detached and evenhanded in his narrative of these legislative deliberations. This balanced tone enhances the book's persuasive power.

The volume climaxes with the enactment of the law in 1906 along with its companion measure for the inspection of meat. Young's treatment of such figures as Harvey W. Wiley and Upton Sinclair covers familiar ground, but does so with a fullness of detail and sophistication that makes the narrative fresh and compelling. Young has attained a very high standard for writing the history of a Progressive era statute. His work suggests what could still be done for the Hepburn Act of 1906 and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909.

Young has used the manuscript sources in Washington for presidents and bureaucrats effectively, although work can still be done in the papers of some of the lawmakers who were involved in creating the law. The book does not contain a formal bibliography, and it is not clear whether Young looked at such sources as the papers of Nelson Aldrich and John C. Spooner. In the case of Congressman Henry C. Adams, a Wisconsin Republican, Young did not look at his papers at the Wisconsin Historical Society, but accepted the written assurances of the society's staff that the Adams papers did not have relevant information about the congressman's role in forging a key compromise on the meat inspection bill. In fact, there are two letters from Adams to Ben C. Adams of June 15, 1906 and June 19, 1906, in which Adams details his role. In the second letter Roosevelt calls him "the man who brought about the agreement on the meat inspection bill."

For the large question of the historical significance of the Pure Food law, Young's book now becomes as close to a definitive account as the scholarly profession can reasonably expect. Informed, clear, and judicious, *Pure Food* is a permanent addition to the significant literature on domestic reform during the Progressive era.

LEWIS L. GOULD
University of Texas
at Austin

Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration. By Carole Marks. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989. Pp. x, 209. Illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.50 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration. By James R. Grossman. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. Pp. xiii, 384. Illustrations, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Carole Marks and James Grossman study the African-American migration of World War I from opposite ends of the intellectual spectrum. Marks, a sociologist, focuses on structural imperatives; Grossman, a historian, stresses "the perspective of its participants" (p. 4). Although each could use more of the other's approach, the Marks volume is more deeply flawed because of its unrelenting application of dependency and labor market segmentation theory and its inattention to recent scholarship and the specific dynamics of the historical situation in the wartime South and North.

In *Farewell—We're Good and Gone*, Marks attributes the migration to the magnet-like attraction core regions (the North) exert on peripheries (the South). First, Marks assumes the cotton economy collapsed before the war, much earlier than most scholars hold. But basically, she argues, blacks were driven out because late nineteenth-century northern investment in the South produced "convulsive change" (p. 14). Northern manufactured goods destroyed local industry, which formerly employed many blacks. Moreover, in the new lines of industry, "like iron, steel, lumber, and tobacco, blacks were excluded by community consent" (p. 15). Blacks had few southern choices. This portrait bears little relation to the South of the early twentieth century. Marks is unfamiliar with recent work on southern economic history, especially the important role of blacks in the new industries from which she claims blacks were excluded. A dissatisfied population is not the same as a displaced one.

The key actors in the migration are northern capitalists seeking replacements for departing foreigners in the industrializing periphery. Following Edna Bonacich, Marks views the black migrants in the North as simple victims. Industrialists exploit their labor and northern workers blame the migrants, not capital, for their misery. This simplistic view of American labor history leads to unsupported and distorted assertions. Looking at David Montgomery's enumeration of 23,000 wartime strikes, Marks concludes that "it is logical that many of these occurred because of the importation of black labor" (p. 132).

Her conclusion that blacks had "no opportunity to advance and nothing to offset their exploitation" fails to convince. Her claim that

the North engaged in "systematic political repression" of blacks who lacked the "ability to defend themselves" (p. 151) ignores the scholarship which demonstrates that blacks voted and defended themselves when attacked. Throughout this study, Marks is too eager to apply theories of capitalism abstractly without attention to the specific development of the American economy in the early twentieth century.

James Grossman's *Land of Hope* argues that migrants measured the North in terms of what they knew in the South, not abstract notions of equality. Thus, they found Chicago initially a land of hope. Higher wages, autonomy, the ability to vote, and to attend superior schools mattered. Although Grossman eschews the theoretical issues which Marks pursues, he carefully distinguishes between the migration of World War I, earlier ones and, by implication, later ones. While Marks is uninterested in individual motivations, Grossman argues that the migration process, initially begun by northern industrial forays into the South, was in the main propelled by southern black decisions. Grossman agrees with Peter Gottlieb that "the migrants were able to control the timing, organization, and direction of their movement to a greater degree than at other times" (*Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916-30*, [1987], p. 219).

But where Gottlieb sees the migration to Pittsburgh as part of a process of movement from rural to industrial work, Grossman argues the migration was a broader, more diffuse movement for opportunity and freedom. A single-city study cannot answer the question. Perhaps the migration to Chicago was different. Grossman correctly stresses black decision-making. But the widespread circulation of the *Chicago Defender*, which advertised a broad array of freedoms, possibly attracted different kinds of migrants than other cities.

Once in Chicago, Grossman finds that the migrants, lacking industrial and urban experience, and with few educational resources, had few options in the Chicago job market other than as replacements for departing foreigners. Like other migrants, southerners found factory work in the rationalized factories alienating. Although the migrants carried southern work habits to the North, they were more willing than other migrants to "abandon traditional patterns of work" (p. 205). Gottlieb argues that black migrants to Pittsburgh's steel mills retained these patterns because the structure of industry did not encourage change. If Chicago was different from Pittsburgh, Grossman does not make clear why. Do we attribute initial high turnover rates to the migrants' unfamiliarity with factory discipline or their search for satisfactory employment? Employers, the Urban League, and YMCA, preferring the first explanation, sought to solve the problem by improving the leisure activities and attitudes of the migrants. (Companies did not employ work incentives that promoted efficiency and permanence.) If the second was true, there seems to be some conflict between the Urban League's attempt to socialize migrants

and the workers' interest in improvement, which they manifested in quitting. Grossman, relying on Urban League and company opinion, does not untangle the issues.

The issue reappears in Grossman's analysis of the packinghouse strike of 1921. Despite a union effort to enlist blacks, most migrants did not join. Grossman attributes the migrants' decision to the influence of the black middle class and the migrants' acceptance of the "ideology of industrial capitalism" (p. 243).

Migrants entered the factory when the instruments of welfare capitalism dominated the black community. Unlike other black communities in northern cities, Chicago's Black Belt, the home of industrial workers, had a physical and institutional development which was elaborate, constructed before the entrance of black workers into industry. Although most migrants worked in the packinghouse and steel industries, Black Belt institutions, created by a black middle class, bore no special relationship to a particular industry or to working-class needs specifically. At the same time, despite the apparent autonomy of the Black Belt institutions, the Urban League, the YMCA, and many churches were financed by industrialists. Although Grossman argues that the decisions made by the black middle-class leaders of these institutions were made independently in 1921, they and the packers urged the migrants to shun the union.

It is hard to imagine a migrant making his decision on the basis of "advancing the race" or pursuing "industrial democracy" (p. 245). But Grossman argues that the migrants accepted the ideology of the race institutions which opposed unionization. Acknowledging the black elite's "patronizing and didactic attitude towards migrants," he claims their "counsel on economic issues carried weight" (p. 236).

But rejecting a union does not necessarily imply an acceptance of the ideology of the middle class or industrial capitalism. During the war in all cities northern blacks, not migrants, joined the unions: the decision not to join was a common one for new, unskilled workers, without the investment in one company or industry. Coinciding positions do not establish causation or identical thinking. Pragmatically, the migrants seem to have weighed the relative power of packers more than Grossman does. Thus, they joined when the union was strong and backed by the government during the war and left after, when the balance of power shifted decisively to employers and when unemployment was high. In Grossman's discussion, the migrants' actions are explicated too heavily through the words of middle-class and company voices who had their own interests in the interpretation.

Grossman argues that class differences among African-Americans were expressed only in the social institutions of the black metropolis and not in the world of work, where they originated. But the decision not to join a union in 1921 does not mean that factory conditions and limited work opportunities did not enter the migrants' world view.

And, Grossman ignores the lively debates among black Republicans, Garveyites, Socialists, Communists, and trade unionists about work and other issues of the larger world.

Nonetheless, Grossman has shown us many reasons why the migrants initially found Chicago a land of hope. His argument that they measured the North by expectations formed in the South is persuasive. Although the book could use more analytic precision and attention to specific work experiences, particularly in the packinghouses, which carry the weight of his interpretation, it offers enough thoughtful and sensible judgment to make it a major contribution to the study of black migration.

JUDITH STEIN
City College of New York

Habits of Industry: White Culture and the Transformation of the Carolina Piedmont. By Allen Tullos. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. xvi, 419. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

Habits of Industry is a fine synthesis and compelling interpretation of the development of the Carolina piedmont, a critically important region in the American South. Allen Tullos combines geography, oral histories, archival research, a copious reading of recent historical writing, and the insights and perspectives of sociologist Kai Erikson, of folklorists, of music, and some fiction writers to create a sweeping, penetrating mural of the physical and human landscape that stretched across the piedmont region of North and South Carolina and the evolution of that landscape from the late eighteenth century until about 1940. Tullos's work reflects the influence of the late Lewis Mumford, an influence he graciously acknowledges.

Habits of Industry commands the attention and careful analysis of anyone who wants or needs to understand the Carolina piedmont and the history of the South since 1800. Tullos eases that task by having written an imaginatively conceived, gracefully written, and frequently moving book. Tullos uses geography and long-term historical developments, like the Great Revival or economic trends, as his framework. Then, he employs a collection of biographies and biographical references to people the landscape and to shape his work around his theme, "habits of industry." Edwin M. Holt, Henry P. Hammett, D. A. Tompkins, William Henry Belk, James B. "Buck" Duke, R. J. Reynolds, Charles Cannon, and Howard Odum make pertinent appearances. The last may surprise some readers, though it should not. Also here are mill workers and their families, often in their own words: Bessie Buchanan, Ivy Norman, the Leagues, Ethel

Hilliard, the Hardins. Collectively and individually, these people worked very hard to transform the economic landscape of the Carolina piedmont or simply to achieve subsistence and perhaps modestly improved prospects for their progeny.

The force that holds this array of people and inanimate factors together is "habits of industry" whose source is Protestant Christianity, specifically Presbyterianism, Baptism, and Methodism. The centripetal force of the religiously based "habits of industry" gives this book its strong persuasive power. The Carolina piedmont, at least in the past, contained substantive, often pervasive, quantities of deference, patriarchalism, paternalism, and fatalism. The extraordinary weaknesses of organized labor among Carolina textile workers seems to confirm these characteristics of Carolina piedmonters.

But Tullos's monothematic approach raises large questions, and his short discussion of those who deviated from the "habits of industry" norm, those who flew "off the handle," will not suffice to explain some questions and problems his basic theme raises. Why, for instance, did North Carolina and Georgia, its near-neighbor in the southern piedmont, produce strong Populist parties if deference and patriarchalism prevailed in the piedmont? Similarly, why has organized labor outside of textiles enjoyed more success than Tullos's portrayal of the region would seem to allow for? Tullos's approach also leads him to scant the 1934 general textile strike as merely another of the inconclusive protests that southern mill workers were inclined to engage in. He pays little attention to the racism of white mill workers and the very substantial impact that racism had on the structure of the textile work force, on attempts to organize textile workers, or on blacks and their opportunity for self-improvement in the Southeast.

Tullos's solid overview of the history of the textile industry would have been enhanced had he given more attention to the highly competitive, non-oligopolistic character of the industry which so powerfully influenced the industry's approach to labor relations. That highly competitive character was, many believe, the most important factor in shaping labor-management relations in the southern textile industry.

We now know a great deal about the transition of southern farmers to factory hands in textiles and how they shaped and controlled life in mill villages. But, despite lengthy analyses of worker oral histories, we still know very little about their efforts to control the work place. Finally, readers might be prompted to ask questions of even a larger scope if they invert a long-standing assumption American historians have had about workers. Instead of assuming that workers want to unionize, assume instead that workers are not necessarily so inclined. Then, the coolness of textile workers toward organized labor may not be an aberration, but a thoroughly American attitude and

not necessarily the product of "habits of industry" founded upon the Protestantism of the Carolina piedmont. Then, the question becomes why have a great many American workers—inside and outside the South—unionized?

Obviously, *Habits of Industry* is a book to be reckoned with. Allen Tullos has put us very considerably in his debt. It is a pleasure to acknowledge that debt.

THOMAS E. TERRILL
University of South Carolina

In The Eye of the Great Depression: New Deal Reporters and the Agony of the American People. By John F. Bauman and Thomas H. Coode. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1988. Pp. x, 230. Illustrations, notes, sources, index. \$25.00 cloth, \$9.50 paper.)

New Deal agencies produced a torrent of reports on programs and performances. Harry Hopkins, director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), felt that the people whom the welfare state was designed to serve were lost sight of in the sea of social science statistics. To find out what the man-on-the-street personally felt and what he thought was most needed, Hopkins hired sixteen reporters and ordered them to investigate at the grassroots the country's welfare problem and assess the effectiveness of public assistance. The reporters covered the length and breadth of the United States, talking with individuals as well as households, probing industrialized urban centers as well as isolated mill towns, fishing villages, and coal patches. FERA's foray into reportage was part of America's turn toward self-examination and documentation through art, theater, photography, and writing during the 1930s. Originally intended to capture the human dimension of the Great Depression, John F. Bauman and Thomas N. Coode, professors at California University of Pennsylvania, observe that FERA's "reports ultimately amounted to—in cameo form—an exercise in national catharsis" (p. 11).

Taking to heart Hopkins's charge not to pull any punches, the reporters filed extraordinarily graphic accounts which exposed not only the common man's insecurities and fears, but also the reporters' own predilections and prejudices. There were at least four biases which ran through the accounts. The reporters repeatedly conceived of the poor as either worthy or unworthy. Those who found themselves unemployed through no fault of their own were considered worthy; vagrants, derelicts, criminals, and the sporadically jobless fell into the unworthy category. Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and new migrants were likewise placed in the unworthy class. The reporters saw the delivery of welfare services as rife with inefficiency. Distressed

over the many layers of bureaucracy in California, Lorena Hickok suggested, "God damn it, I think we ought to let Japan have this state. Maybe they could straighten it out" (p. 181). The reporters also insisted that professionalism had to rise over politically motivated diletantism for social services to be effective. And the reporters believed that direct relief demoralized the recipient—only make-work would restore self-respect and stability. Contrary to the popular image of New Dealers as unqualified champions of the "forgotten man," Hopkins' reporters "betrayed a strain of intolerance for the so-called underdog" and "flirted seriously with eugenic theory and ruminated about genetic damage . . ." (p. 12). Seeing the poor as producing future generations of low intelligence, Martha Gellhorn promoted birth control and advocated sterilization laws.

The accounts bring out how traumatic the Great Depression was to the South, where New Deal programs further disadvantaged the region's most vulnerable people. The federal government committed an arsenal of money and manpower to ameliorating diseases, improving education, raising the standard of living, and increasing the cultural opportunities for southerners. While the Tennessee Valley Authority, agricultural diversification, and resettlement programs guided the South down the path of modernization, New Dealers were perceived as intruders, and the federal largesse as disruptive. At the same time that elites warned that relief would create a permanent class of loafers and unsettle white and black labor and social relationships, they skimmed off benefit payments before they could reach croppers and utilized the speed-up and learner basis to beat industrial codes. Progress would be slow and arduous. "More than half the population of the city is Negro—and such Negroes!" Lorena Hickok reported from Savannah. "Even their lips are black, and the whites of their eyes! They're almost inarticulate as animals. They are animals. Many of them look and talk and act like creatures barely removed from the Ape. Some of them I talked with yesterday seemed to me hardly more intelligent than my police dog" (p. 167).

The kinds of things that the reporters looked for make the accounts somewhat repetitious. Hickok and Gellhorn, moreover, tend to squeeze the others out of the limelight. *In The Eye of the Great Depression* offers, however, more than a thorough tour of the standard secondary works on the New Deal. Bauman and Coode have culled their story from papers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, records at the National Archives, and other primary materials at the Library of Congress. The authors enlivened their text with interior and exterior shots of urban and rural poverty taken by such masters as Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, and Arthur Rothstein. Now available in paperback by Northern Illinois University Press, *In The Eye of the Great Depression* provides many insights into the culture of the 1930s.

ROBERT E. SNYDER
University of South Florida

Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement. By Robert Weisbrot. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989. Pp. xv, 350. Illustrations, notes, index. \$21.95.)

As an exercise in popular history, the main strength of *Freedom Bound* is readability. In racy but taut prose, enlivened by a nice turn of phrase, Robert Weisbrot traces the movement's history from the Montgomery bus boycott to the first Nixon administration, bracketing the narrative with an introduction that analyzes the movement's origins and a concluding chapter assessing its legacy.

Perhaps by its very nature, but also because of the author's liberal outlook, *Freedom Bound* breaks no new ground; the story is familiar, the treatment conventional, and the judgments predictable. Nevertheless, in his analysis of interracial tensions inside the "Freedom Summer," his account of the convention challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and his evaluation of the War on Poverty—to cite but three examples—Weisbrot displays his ability to summarize existing scholarship while adding perceptive comments of his own. By and large, this is a trustworthy account, although there are occasional errors. Student leader Bernard Lee is located in Nashville rather than Montgomery. King is alleged to have "virtually stopped speaking about" the Poor People's Campaign during the last weeks of his life, "becoming more concerned after Johnson's withdrawal not to embarrass the Democrats in an election year" (p. 272). In fact, King spoke of little else, and Johnson's withdrawal happened only days before his assassination. There are also errors of omission. For example, Weisbrot criticizes Nixon for attempting to delay school integration in Mississippi, but fails to note that the Supreme Court frustrated this effort by its ruling in *Alexander v. Holmes*, a landmark decision that goes unmentioned.

The weakest part of the book is the introductory chapter on the origins of the movement. Weisbrot alleges a "paucity of Negro activism outside the Northern ghettos" on the eve of the Second World War (p. 9), overlooking the rising agitation for the ballot evident in the formulation of local voters leagues, the activities of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the holding of mass rallies in New Orleans and elsewhere. The fact that the NAACP massively expanded its southern membership during the war is also ignored. The author notes that two million blacks were registered voters by the late 1940s but neglects to explain that the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the white primary, *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), precipitated this rise in black registration. We are told that Harry Truman "acceded to a strong civil rights plank" in 1948 (p. 11), winning a second term despite southern defections, but we do not learn that Congress rejected Truman's civil rights proposals, just as it had earlier killed the

Fair Employment Practices Committee set up by Roosevelt. Speaking of the 1950s, Weisbrot argues that Americans were reluctant to extend presidential power "for any purpose" (p. 12). Yet this was a time when the creation of a national security state gave the president unprecedented power in the sphere of war and foreign policy. The author asserts that the first school integration in the Deep South occurred three years after the *Brown* decision, a statement that is only correct if one regards Arkansas as a Deep South state. Only in 1960, in fact, when four black girls entered two formerly white schools in New Orleans, did the Deep South witness any school integration.

Some of Weisbrot's broader judgments are also questionable. Was the "anti-Communist fervor that gripped the country after 1945" really such "a potent ally" of blacks in their drive for equality (p. 10)? There is certainly something to be said for the argument that the Cold War encouraged the federal government to withdraw its support from official forms of segregation. But anti-Communism also helped to kill the prospects for civil rights legislation and aborted the nascent movement of the late 1940s, causing the repression and eventual demise of groups like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the Civil Rights Congress. Weisbrot ignores the chilling effect of McCarthyism, restricting himself to the mild observation that the "conservative tenor of national politics . . . inhibited progress in race relations following *Brown*" (p. 12).

The introduction apart, *Freedom Bound* rests upon a fairly solid base of scholarship. Weisbrot has assimilated the major secondary accounts and, with the help of research assistant Dolita Cathcart, has delved into the records of civil rights organizations, read and conducted oral history interviews, and visited the Kennedy and Johnson presidential libraries. In writing about King, however, the author rather surprisingly follows Stephen B. Oates's *Let The Trumpet Sound* (1982) instead of the more recent and far more authoritative biography by David J. Garrow, *Bearing The Cross* (1986). This superbly written narrative will prove a strong challenge to Harvard Sitkoff's *Struggle for Black Equality* (1981) in the popular history stakes. But it adds little to our knowledge or understanding of the civil rights movement.

ADAM FAIRCLOUGH
Saint David's University College,
Wales

In Search of the New South: The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s. Edited by Robert D. Bullard. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. Pp. x, 203. Illustrations, tables, notes, select bibliography, index. \$28.50.)

The booming Sunbelt of the 1960s and 1970s has, if it ever existed, been transformed into a historical footnote by the recession of the early 1980s and the catastrophe in the oil patch that consumed the rest of the decade. Even in its heyday, the concept seemed more the product of Chamber of Commerce public relations experts than tangible, reasonable, or objective criteria. For every attempt by boosters to define it in terms of population growth, capital investment, and physical development, skeptics could perhaps trace its borders just as well by charting rates of illiteracy, infant mortality, endemic poverty, and depressed levels of social expenditures. The former cluster of characteristics garnered a good deal of public attention; the latter generally did not.

Robert D. Bullard's collection, *In Search of the New South*, serves as a needed corrective in tracing the black urban experience through the 1970s and 1980s. In examining a half dozen Southern cities (Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, and Tampa), Bullard and his contributors attack the notion of a "New South" with a vengeance. In a symphony of a single note, the authors portray a magically transformed post-civil rights South as more illusion than reality. The continuing burden of racism, as demonstrated by contemporary inequities in education, employment, income, housing, and politics, constitutes the major theme. The interpretive coherence, perhaps even virtual uniformity, of this anthology is clearly due to Bullard's own guiding hand (in addition to editing the volume and co-authoring the chapter on Atlanta, he has contributed an introduction, the conclusion, and the chapter on Houston) and the adoption of an outline that was faithfully replicated in each of the selections. If such regimentation stifled some creativity, it has the virtue of producing comparable results.

A salutary change of pace from the "see no evil" journalism of previous years, *In Search of the New South* is not, however, without serious shortcomings. Most glaringly, it lacks thematic organization. The cities are treated in a seemingly random order, and, except for the obvious repetition of statistical disparities between blacks and whites to document persistent racial gaps, there is little analysis. There are intriguing hints of difference, for example, between the cities of the Old South (New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, and Birmingham) with their older, well-established majority or near-majority black populations and those associated with recent Sunbelt expansion (Houston and Tampa) that had proportionately much smaller Afro-

American communities as well as other significant minority groups (Hispanics and Afro-Cubans). But this distinction is not even perceived, let alone pursued. The net result is the homogenization of the black urban experience, the obliteration of local culture, and a focus on the accumulation of aggregate statistical data that merely charts gross black-white differences.

Such an approach means that readers learn very little about the individual black communities sketched here, and the absence of maps makes it difficult for those not intimately familiar with the towns in question to follow parts of the discussion. That approach also produces some interpretive difficulties. Black political power, for example, is measured simply as a function of the number of blacks holding elective office. Such narrow vision leads, in one instance, to the factually accurate but analytically misleading assertion that blacks "gained and kept control of city hall" (p. 74) when Sidney Barthelemy succeeded Dutch Morial as mayor of New Orleans. A "white front" candidate, Barthelemy's succession represented more a repudiation than a continuation of the Morial regime.

Perhaps even more important, several of the authors mention the growing internal complexity and class divisions within black communities and insightfully discuss their implications, particularly with regard to school desegregation. Yet if the flight of the black middle-class from inner city public school systems and the devotion of resources to magnet programs that primarily attract middle-class students of all backgrounds remain debatable issues, the isolation of the black poor in weak schools should not be considered simply a matter of racial segregation. Dimensions of class need to be explored more fully than they are here.

In sum, if there is little cause to argue with the overall conclusion that the benefits and burdens of the past generation of explosive growth were not shared equally, much more remains to be done before we have a good picture or clear understanding of urban black life in the contemporary South.

ARNOLD R. HIRSCH
University of New Orleans

Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington, Jr., and His Times. By Jimmie Lewis Franklin. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. Pp. xi, 363. Illustrations, appendix, essay on sources, index. \$28.50.)

Truth in reviewing requires that I acknowledge a personal, if tangential, connection to Richard Arrington, Jr., mayor of Birmingham since 1979. Having worked in his first mayoral campaign and chaired a committee that monitored the electoral practices of his sec-

ond campaign, and having followed Birmingham politics throughout his tenure, I have my own opinions about Arrington the mayor and the man. I am convinced he sincerely wants to help make Birmingham's history of racial conflict a thing of the past. He is very intelligent, a capable administrator, and a very popular leader of blacks in Birmingham and throughout Alabama. He is also personally reserved in most public settings, sensitive to slights that are racially motivated, and sure to remember who his political enemies and friends are. In the context of Alabama's political leadership, black and white, he is quieter and smarter than most and more liberal than just about all the others. But for his liberalism and the color of his skin, he would be a formidable candidate for a major state office.

Jimmie Lewis Franklin generally shares this assessment in a biography that dwells on Arrington's public career. Franklin provides a valuable narrative of political events in Birmingham from 1971, when Arrington was first elected to the city council, to 1987, the end of his second mayoral term—but not of his tenure as mayor, which continues today. The book offers a case study of black political empowerment in an important place, something too rarely available in our historical literature. As a chronicle of very recent southern politics, it is worthwhile.

It is, however, hardly as useful a work as it might have been. Franklin and Arrington are old friends and that fact shows in the book. As probably any of us would do in writing about an old friend, Franklin tends always to accentuate the positive about Arrington, a habit that, while natural and justifiable much of the time, inevitably raises questions about whether critical judgement is really at work here. Indeed, too often *Back to Birmingham* reads like a celebrity biography, especially in the maudlin passage about the failure of Arrington's first marriage. The publication of the book at the height of Arrington's political career reinforces that feeling. Nowhere in the book is there sustained critical analysis of Arrington as a significant political figure. Because he is one, the book may well disappoint anyone who is not simply a fan of the man.

Tougher analysis would have assessed the accuracy and fairness of the constant accusations, leveled against Arrington from his early days as mayor, of corruption in Birmingham city hall. Many allegations no doubt have been false, but they require scrutiny for him to be vindicated. Assignment of even some culpability would have been better than to ignore the questions raised. Critical judgment on the quality of Arrington's appointments is missing, especially in the matter of his white police chief, Arthur Deutsch. Here Arrington had been embroiled in an extended power struggle with the local civil service board and was left with little real choice on the appointment, a circumstance that points up an important reality that Franklin again failed to analyze satisfactorily: the nature and extent of the continuing

white hostility to his leadership. Arrington has had bitter and sometimes unscrupulous white opposition from his first day in office. The reader needs to know what Arrington has been up against to assess his performance, but does not get it in this book. Finally, there is almost no effort to place Arrington in the context of the experience of others similarly situated—Coleman and Andrew Young, Tom Bradley, and the other black mayors of large American cities. Like so much with this book, the subject deserves more serious treatment.

ROBERT J. NORRELL
University of Alabama

The Future of the Past. By C. Vann Woodward. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 370. Notes, index. \$24.95.)

If a poll were taken of which historian best exemplifies that rarest of commodities, wisdom, the outcome would be easy to predict. This generation of scholars knows how lucky it is to have C. Vann Woodward to keep the profession on the straight and narrow. Now reaching fourscore years, he vigorously continues to dispense shrewd advice and commentary in a witty and always gentlemanly spirit. This volume of essays is more than an academic Nestor's counsel. It is also a set of meditations on the historical controversies that have busied the academy during the last thirty years. Flavored with his usual gift of irony, the original essays defy Chronos astonishingly well. The short forewords and "afterthoughts" further drive home their enduring pertinence without inordinate claims of Delphic clairvoyance.

In this connection, the republication of his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1969 is particularly apt. Listening to dry recitals of academicians, much less to one who brought unhappy tidings, was not the most "relevant" thing to do in 1969. Woodward must have felt as Henry Kaufman did in the mid-1980s when warning an indifferent Congress and administration about the perils of corporate greed and mounting piles of private and public debt. On the ceremonial occasion, Woodward observed that after World War II, historians had never had it so good—increased classroom enrollments, growing professional self-confidence and popular esteem, among other indications of triumph over earlier frustrations. That bountiful era, Woodward warned the tumultuous and unheeding convention in Washington, was about to close. It did. The crisis, however, was deferred until 1972—the 1929, as it were, of a grand professional crash. His "afterthought" records the subsequent and precipitous decline in undergraduate history majors, teaching positions, doctoral-candidate ranks, and the deadening of history in national consciousness. At least in part, these motions reflected the hedonism and present-minded romanticism of the Vietnam genera-

tion. But Woodward reminds us that booms follow busts in academic history no less than on Wall Street: a new resurgence in the humanities may soon begin.

In his presidential address to the Organization of American Historians in the same year, felicitously titled, "Clio with Soul," Woodward cast a skeptical eye on black nationalist influences in American racial studies. Some of that school were then mocking the presumption of white scholars choosing black topics. Moreover, Woodward contended, these black historians proclaimed African roots in America with a zeal not seen since Irish-American priests declared that St. Brendan, not Columbus, first discovered America. Though the Yale scholar by no means sought to keep blacks, so long neglected, out of the textbooks, he has never favored mythmaking, having already lambasted the Cavalier and Lost Cause legends. Such special pleading, he asserted, betrays a needlessly uneasy and negative form of self-identity. Now he admits to having exaggerated the issue, but it took courage in 1969 to criticize black intellectual trends.

As dean of southern studies, Woodward has license to boast. Yet, too modest to announce his influential role, in a 1975 essay he examines the growth in quantity and quality of southern studies after *The Origins of the New South* (1951) appeared. No doubt the dynamism of a postwar South has much to do with the change, as he affirms. His own pioneering work in the field, however, cannot be gainsaid. "The Age of Reinterpretation" (1960) embraces a still broader sweep of time. The essay contrasts American Cold War defense expenditures and sense of geopolitical insecurity with conditions earlier in our past. From 1815 to 1939, the protective shield of the British navy functioned for an unmindful America as, for instance, ours does today for Japan. Other essays explore the southern experience with emancipation and Reconstruction. By comparative methodology, those wrenching disturbances serve to illuminate other nations' upheavals, a theme pertinent in contemplating the current dissolution of the Soviet Empire. These are, however, less intriguing expositions than his reflections on the nature of the southern literary renaissance, a study with special suitability today when young specialists are challenging the largely white and male canon that Brooks, Warren, and Rubin had formulated in the 1950s.

This valuable collection attests to three major characteristics of his elegant and sophisticated practice: the continued, healthy marriage of history and literature, a topic to which he returns more than once; the use of paradox and irony as a foil against both purely social-science history and self-serving sentimentalism, black or white; and finally, the ethical function of the craft—not as simple moral narrative but as a way to address the contemporary human condition in light of the messy, cluttered past. For all its questioning of unexamined assumptions, *The Future of the Past* is optimistic about the future of

historians and therefore about the future of humankind. Woodward has proved right about many things. We can only hope that his prophecies on this score are accurate, too.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN
University of Florida

Book Notes

The United States in 1800: Henry Adams Revisited. By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. Pp. viii, 73. Index. \$14.95.)

Originally delivered as the first of the Douglas Southall Freeman Lectures at the University of Richmond in September 1986, these essays provide an analysis of Henry Adams's widely acclaimed overview of American society in 1800. Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., observes that from his 1880s perspective, Adams, a noted historian and the great-grandson of John Adams, failed to appreciate important changes taking place within the United States at the beginning of his century. He focuses "on areas of Adams's account that need to be questioned and offer[s] some suggestions about conditions in the United States that Adams ignored or neglected" (p. 4).

In the three essays, Cunningham examines the society, economy and political culture of the United States during this period and contrasts his findings with those of Henry Adams. He finds that far from being the static, backward society similar to "the condition of England under Alfred the Great" (p. 1), America enjoyed dynamic growth and mobility. Cunningham chides Adams for his neglect of the richness of American culture, the importance of religion and the progress in education, as well as his failure to understand and appreciate developments in the nation's economy and politics.

Although Noble Cunningham recognizes Henry Adams's work "as a pioneering effort in social and intellectual history" (p. 4), his challenges to many of Adams's assessments raise questions which should encourage further study of those vital formative years of the new republic.



A Guide to the History of Florida. Edited by Paul S. George. Foreword by Samuel Proctor. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 300. Appendices, index. \$65.00.)

A Guide to the History of Florida is a comprehensive reference work concerning the historical literature, archives and manuscript collections relating to the history of Florida. Numerous historians, archivists, librarians and other scholars analyze the historiography of each major period in Florida's history and provide assessments of the resources available for scholarly research.

Editor Paul S. George divides the *Guide* into two major sections. The first consists of historiographical essays on significant periods and topics, which examine the range of scholarly work and interpre-

tations relating to that period. The second section provides information on various archival sources and manuscript repositories, including addresses and hours, as well as a description of the available resources. *A Guide to the History of Florida* is a valuable reference tool and resource for anyone undertaking research in the history of that diverse state.



Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future. By the Jacksonville Historic Landmarks Commission. Written and designed by Wayne W. Wood. Photography by Judy Davis and David Vendas. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1989. Pp. 421. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

From the smallest crossroads town to the largest metropolitan center, there is a growing interest in the historic preservation of buildings and other landmarks of significance. Unfortunately, the desire for growth and expansion and the costs involved in preservation often render the task of saving these structures more difficult. Thus, city governments frequently struggle with the task of preserving their past while accommodating their future. In the early 1970s, the city of Jacksonville, Florida, created a commission to study and preserve its cultural and historical landmarks. Its efforts and achievements are chronicled in this study.

Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage includes brief biographies of the city's most prominent architects along with an informative overview of architectural styles found in Jacksonville and Duval County. The remainder of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of a wide selection of buildings and structures which are referenced to maps indicating their locations, information regarding streets or names, dates, architects and builders, and a synopsis of the history of that site.

This book represents an impressive achievement by one southern city to study and preserve its significant landmarks, and this account of its efforts provides a worthy model for other communities to emulate.



Directory of Genealogical and Local Historical Researchers in North America: Volume I, The Southern States. Edited by R. Hart Moore. (Conyngham, Pa.: Pioneer Books, 1989. Pp. v, 38. Index. \$15.00 paper.)

Volume I of R. Hart Moore's *Directory* is the first of five projected volumes designed to provide information on researchers in genealogy and local history in North America. This volume covers a region

consisting of fourteen southern states, including Kentucky, Oklahoma and West Virginia. The editor divides his directory by state, with one section devoted to the "South—General." Each entry lists the researcher's name, address, phone number, and "areas available to research." Where possible, the editor also notes professional memberships, educational and professional credentials, publications and fees. The index lists references to names, states, and limited subject headings.

R. Hart Moore's *Directory* will prove a particularly useful tool for those persons interested in genealogical or local historical research, but who have neither the time, the opportunity, nor the resources to conduct that research themselves. Order from Pioneer Books, P.O. Box 704, Conyngham, Pennsylvania 18219.



The Cratis Williams Symposium Proceedings: A Memorial and Examination of the State of Regional Studies in Appalachia. (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1990. Pp. iv, 76. Notes. \$5.95.)

Labeled "Mister Appalachia" and "the Complete Mountaineer," Cratis D. Williams (1911-1985) loomed for almost thirty years as the dean of Appalachian scholarship. His legacy lies as much in the work he evoked from others and in the opportunities he provided for such study as in his own extensive research and writing on the Southern Highlands "in fact and fiction."

This volume and the symposium out of which it grew are testimony to Williams's continuing influence on Appalachian studies. Soon after his death, six of the most influential scholars in the field, most of them colleagues or former students, paid tribute to Williams by surveying the status and range of Appalachian studies at the time of his death. Loyal Jones examines the study of Appalachian music, Ronald Eller summarizes historical treatments of the region, Charlotte Ross surveys the contributions of folkloristics, and Jim Wayne Miller analyzes its literature, while Carl Ross and John Stephenson reflect on the personal and professional impact of Williams himself. Though slightly dated now—no work since 1985 is cited—this is a valuable resource for the growing number of students and scholars of the Southern Highland experience, past and present.



The Encyclopedia of Colonial and Revolutionary America. Edited by John Mack Faragher. (New York: Facts on File, 1990. Pp. viii, 484. Index. \$50.00.)

For fifty years, Facts on File has provided readers with a wealth of information on a variety of topics. Its most recent contribution is

The Encyclopedia of Colonial and Revolutionary America, edited by John Mack Faragher. This impressive reference work contains over 1,500 alphabetically arranged entries. These entries not only concern such traditional topics as explorers, soldiers and statesmen, but a wide-range of diverse topics from disease and divorce to medicine and religion. Under each major category the editor supplies a topic guide which corss references more specific subject headings relating to that category. These guides list both general and biographical headings.

Whether the reader desires a reference to the Paxton Boys, the Pequot War or the Potato, the *Encyclopedia* provides useful and easily accessible information.



An Index to Crown Grants in Georgia, 1755-1775. Foreword by Louis De Vorsey. (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1989. Published for the R. J. Taylor, Jr. Foundation. Pp. xiii, 167. Map. \$20.00 paper.)

Abstracts of English Crown Grants in Georgia appeared in nine volumes from 1972 to 1974. This index to those abstracts provides researchers with easier access to the information contained in those volumes.

The *Index* includes the names of all people and places mentioned in any of the English Crown Grants in Georgia from 1755-1775. For readers' convenience, the *Index* includes a map of Colonial Georgia, 1758-1773, by Marion R. Hemperley, with parishes overlaid on a map of modern Georgia counties, as well as a listing of districts and towns and their corresponding parishes and counties. The entries consist of the names of grantees and other persons who appear in the abstracts, record books, page entries, parishes, land parcels, and survey or grant dates.



Floridians At Work: Yesterday and Today. By Margaret Gibbons Wilson. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989. Pp. xxi, 187. Introduction, illustrations, notes. \$24.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

Fruit Tramps: A Family of Migrant Farmworkers. By Herman LeRoy Emmet. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989. Pp. xxi, 58. Foreword, introduction, illustrations. \$45.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Containing numerous Farm Security Administration photographs—many taken by Marrion Post Wolcott and Arthur Rothstein/*Floridians At Work: Yesterday and Today* by Margaret Gibbons Wil-

son presents a tribute to the labor of those working Floridians who provided the muscle behind the state's transformation from pine barrens and mangrove swamps to tourist traps and metropolitan centers. Wilson emphasizes the diversity of labor and its transformation—or lack thereof—over the past hundred years. Wilson includes selected comments of workers culled from the Work Project Administration's Federal Writers' Project. She neither attempts to provide a context for the photographs nor comments upon them other than to offer a brief identifying notation. Yet the photographs speak for themselves, for they offer glimpses of a bygone era.

A more successful attempt at using photographs to describe the life of workers is achieved by Herman LeRoy Emmet in *Fruit Tramps: A Family of Migrant Farmworkers*. Emmet succeeds because he recreates the context of the photographs by including an analytical text based on nine years of interviews with his subject, the L. H. Tindal family. A story of migrant fruit and vegetable pickers, *Fruit Tramps* (what the workers themselves prefer to be called) details the exploitation of seasonal farm labor. Following the Tindal family as they traveled from Florida to South Carolina up to New York, harvesting by hand oranges, apples, cabbages and other produce for wages as low as \$1.33 an hour (roughly .002 cent per orange) Emmet captures the dignity of these debased laborers with each black and white frame. The collection of photographs received the Pictures of the Year Canon Photo Essay prize for 1987 photojournalism. By comparing *Fruit Tramps* with the 1894 and 1937 illustrations of fruit pickers reprinted in *Floridians at Work* one wonders if much has changed. At least now the story of one family of migrant laborers has been beautifully recorded.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR:

I was pleased to see that, in their joint article "A View of Savannah as it Stood the 29th of March, 1734," Rodney M. Baine and Louis De Vorsey, Jr. agreed with me that Noble Jones "contributed" to the well-known "View of Savannah" and that Peter Gordon did not. However, I believe that Noble Jones contributed more than just a plat.

The authors write:

In his 1986 article in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, George Fenwick Jones argued that Noble Jones, not Peter Gordon, produced the engraving by P. Fourdrinier titled "A View of Savannah as it Stood the 29th of March, 1734." Although his evidence is flawed, historian Jones is correct in his conviction that Noble Jones contributed to the creation of the striking and often reproduced image of Savannah as it stood a year after its founding. The source for Fourdrinier's engraving was no doubt based on a copy of the town plan or plat for which Noble Jones, as the first surveyor of Georgia, was responsible. That plat apparently fell victim to time and is no longer extant.¹

First of all, I did not claim that Jones had "produced the engraving"; I merely suggested that Jones produced a bird's eye view of Savannah, however primitive, similar to the one of Ebenezer, which, I contend, was also made by Jones. Secondly, I object to the word "flawed" and to the assertion that the View was "no doubt" based on a plan or plat by Jones, since I am convinced that it was a "view" and not a plan.

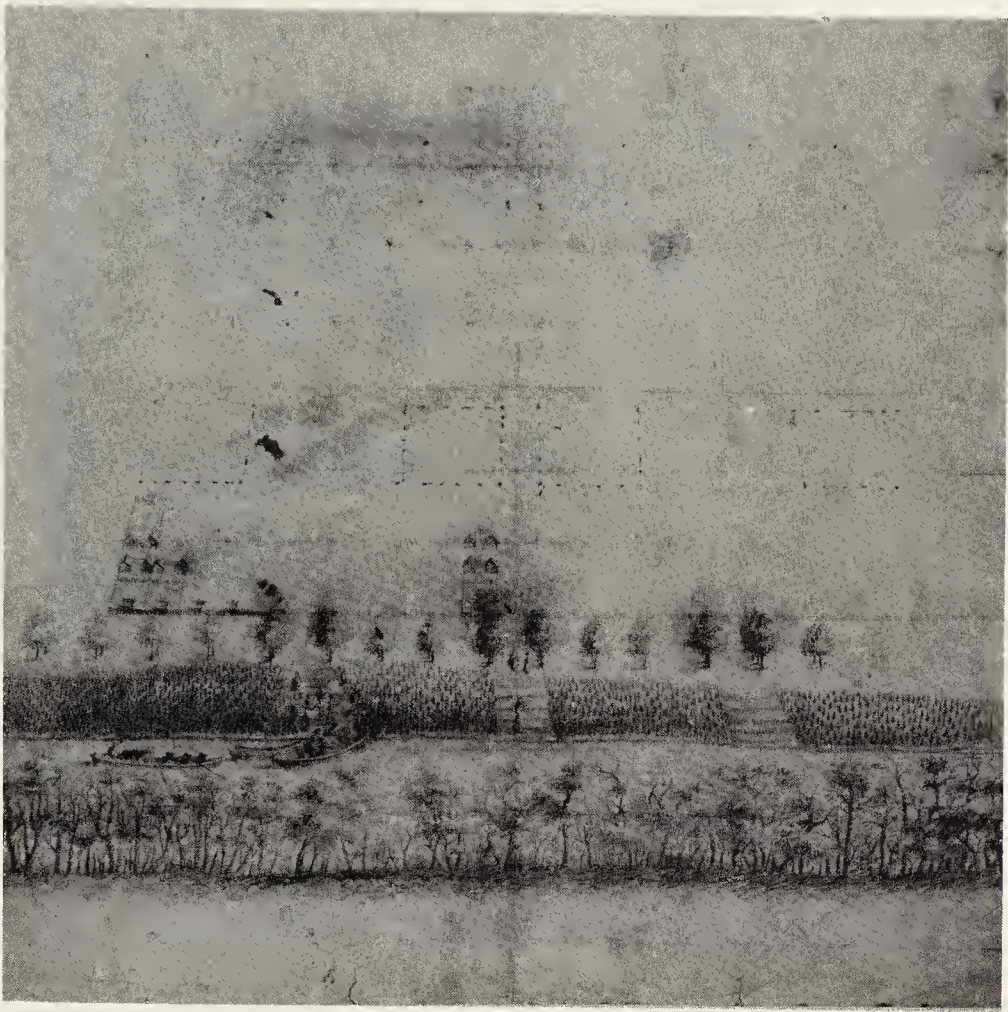
The authors document the preceding paragraph with this footnote:

George Fenwick Jones, "Peter Gordon's (?) View of Savannah," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 70 (Spring 1986), 97-101. The view of New Ebenezer which he used as evidence for Noble Jones' prospect of Savannah was discovered with drawings made by Baron Philip Friedrich von Reck; and Mr. Jones advanced no evidence to suggest that it was not drawn by himself. Other similar views in the baron's collection show a style much closer to the New Ebenezer view than to the Fourdrinier engraving. . . .²

Our difference of interpretation seems to be explained by the word "by." Despite what the authors believe, the drawings could not have been made "by" the baron, because they were in several hands of varying ability, and there is no evidence that the baron ever drew anything. During his first voyage to Georgia, von Reck made many

¹*Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73 (Winter 1989), 784-813.

²*Ibid.*, 814.



The earliest sketch of New Ebenezer from von Reck's folio, c. 1736.

by von Reck.⁴ It is possible, however, that a role was played by Christian Mueller, an artist who came to Georgia as von Reck's servant.⁵

With no evidence whatever, the two authors refer to Noble Jones's "plat of Savannah" that Gordon took to London, although according

⁴For example, the "military camp along the coast of Georgia" in *Von Reck's Voyage*, ed. Kristian Hvidt (Savannah, Ga., 1980), overleaf from p. 132. This cannot have been New Ebenezer, as the editor suggests, because it depicts a saltwater tidal marsh, such as one finds at Ft. King George, rather than a freshwater cypress swamp as one finds around Ebenezer.

⁵It is possible that he made all the charcoal drawings at Ebenezer, including the perspective of New Ebenezer. In this case he must have copied Jones's sketch very closely, or there would have been no reason for it to resemble so closely Noble Jones's earlier view of Savannah, as elaborated by George Jones and engraved by Fourdrinier.

to Gordon's journal, which the authors cite, Gordon presented the Trustees "a view of the new Town of Savannah, its situation, and manner it was laid out in, as likewise the forme and elevation of all the houses and publick buildings that were completed at the time I left it. The Trustees seem'd pleased with it, and order'd me to gett a compleat drawing made of it, which I presented to them as soon as it was finished, and for which they ordered me a small present." A view is a view, not a plat, especially if it indicates the "forme and elevation of all the houses." This means that Gordon took Noble Jones's low-oblique sketch to the Trustees, who approved it, and then took it to George Jones to elaborate it.

I agree with the two authors that "what the Trustees approved could not have been merely Noble Jones's plat," but I find their following explanation not only circumstantial but also unnecessary. Gordon tells us that he arrived in London on January 6, 1734, delivered some letters and packets, and immediately underwent surgery for a fistula. Then, on February 27, as soon as he was "in a condition of stirring abroad" after Mr. Christledon had cut his fistula, Gordon presented his "view" for approval by the Trustees. This allowed little time for him to take any "plat" to George Jones for elaboration and surely insufficient time for the latter to "compleat" such a detailed drawing as he made for Foudrinier, so it must have been Noble Jones's view that he presented, and this must have been good enough to win the Trustees' approval. Gordon would surely not have risked the expense of having George Jones embellish Noble Jones's view without the Trustees' prior consent. It will be seen that Gordon delivered the Trustees "a view," not "the view"; and this implies that it was one they had not yet seen or approved.

If I were to re-edit my article, I would only add "by George Jones" to the sentence "The Savannah plan was obviously altered greatly in London." It is amazing that before Baine and DeVorsey, no one had realized that George Jones's sketch was made for, rather than from, the engraving; since engravings are usually made from, not for, drawings. We owe a vote of thanks to Baine and DeVorsey for finding and recognizing this splendid sketch; and, if their assumptions of relationships are correct, I am proud to learn of my talented first cousin (seven times removed).

In summary I still contend that Gordon took Noble Jones's perspective view (not plat) of Savannah to the Trustees for their approval and then had someone (George Jones) "compleat" it for the engraving.

GEORGE FENWICK JONES
University of Maryland

AUTHORS' RESPONSE:

Only with reluctance did we term "flawed" any evidence offered by so fine and productive a scholar as Mr. George Fenwick Jones. He has contributed as much to the understanding of Georgia history as has any other expert living. The view of New Ebenezer which he produced as his evidence for Noble Jones's hypothetical perspective sketch of Savannah did not, however, exhibit the requisite similarities with the Fourdrinier engraving to establish a common source. Nor does it, in our opinion, with the perspective view drawn by George Jones.

Moreover, it was essential for Professor Jones to establish that Noble Jones drew the sketch which he offered as his evidence. Just who did so remains uncertain. In *Von Reck's Voyage: Drawings and Journals of Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck* (Savannah, 1980), Kristian Hvidt attributed the watercolors and sketches to the count himself but admitted that a few were probably drawn by his younger brother or that the count might have commissioned them (p. 8). There is no doubt that the count could draw for as Hvidt showed: "A letter to the Trustees of Georgia, now in the Public Record Office, London, shows a drawing by Von Reck" (p. 8), included on page 85. The same drawing appears as plate 12 in Mr. Jones's *Salzburger Saga* (Athens, 1984), identified there as "von Reck's drawing" (p. 33). We are now inclined to accept as probable Mr. Jones's suggestion that the artist of the New Ebenezer sketch might have been the count's servant Christian Müller. As Mr. Jones remarked in his *Salzburger Saga*, the sketches "directly concerning the Salzburgers could have been made by von Reck's servant Christian Müller, who was with him all the time and is known to have painted a portrait of Oglethorpe . . ." (pp. 31-32). He now admits, "It is possible that he made all the charcoal drawings at Ebenezer, including the perspective of New Ebenezer." In the sketch to which Mr. G. F. Jones refers in his fourth footnote (Hvidt, 134-35), the artist has apparently drawn himself, on guard in the foreground, behatted and befrocked, with the butt of his gun resting on the ground. Below, the artist has written a fairly distinct "myself." Since the figure is looking away from us, we cannot be certain that it is not the count, but since it is not distinct in dress from another, who is on guard, in the distance, gun on shoulder, we are led to assume that it is Müller. However, it taxes the imagination to picture the count commissioning Noble Jones to make sketches for him. Although Noble Jones was for a while a surveyor of New Ebenezer, the two did not get along, and the count had at his elbow a competent artist, Müller.

There is no doubt, in our minds, that Noble Jones could have executed a perspective view of the sort drawn by George Jones and engraved by Fourdrinier. At a later date he did exactly this in the form of a perspective view of the orphanage at Bethesda near Savan-

nah. This perspective view was engraved and published in Rev. George Whitefield's tract titled *An Account of Money Received and Disbursed for the Orphan-House in Georgia. To Which is Prefixed a Plan of the Building* (London: 1741) (De Renne Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries). On this engraving, "N. Jones del." is included to leave no doubt as to its authorship. It is tempting to hypothesize that, after smarting as a result of Peter Gordon's duplicity in 1734, Noble Jones took pains to equip himself to render attractive and hopefully profitable perspective views in addition to plats and maps. Taking advantage of the almost daily publicity which Tomochichi and the other Georgia Indians were getting in the London newspapers, especially in *The Daily Advertiser*, Gordon advertised the engraving, "A View of the Town, River, and Situation of Savannah, as it stood in March 1734," in that paper sporadically from October 15, 1734, through November 1. The engraving itself evidently appeared on October 28th.

Had Noble Jones included an eye sketch of the Savannah scene along with his town plan or plat we would expect to see certain clues of it which are notably absent from both the George Jones drawing and Fourdrinier engraving. We would expect, for example, to see tree stumps in any view that had been based on an eye sketch whether drawn by Noble Jones or anyone else present in Georgia in 1734. On the other hand, stumps would not normally be included in a town plan or plat such as Noble Jones mentioned in his indictment of Peter Gordon.

Finally, given all available evidence, we must reiterate that what Peter Gordon exhibited to the Trustees on February 27, 1734, was George Jones's drawing. Ignorant of the terms of artistry, Gordon may have intended his term "compleat drawing" for engraving. We know, however, that he was a liar and that he wrote his *Journal* to justify his questionable conduct. There is no reason, on the contrary, to reject the account of John Percival, who recorded in both his diary and his journal that the Trustees ordered Gordon to have his view engraved. It would surely be a mistake to accept Gordon's account on this point and reject Percival's reiterated statement to the contrary. We hope that George Fenwick Jones will join us in crediting both Noble and George Jones as the long unsung but deserving authors of *A View of Savannah as it stood the 29th of March, 1734*.

RODNEY M. BAINE
LOUIS DE VORSEY, JR.
University of Georgia

TO THE EDITOR:

Within the Plantation Household makes Suzanne Lebsock very unhappy, perhaps especially because it “makes it its business to deflate the relative significance of women as historical actors and of gender as an analytic category” (*Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1990, p. 79); because it “tells an already familiar story—which I fear makes the South no less dismissable than it was before” (p. 80); because by arguing for southern exceptionalism it undermines its own “case for making southern women—black or white—more central to American women’s history” (p. 80). Embedded in Lebsock’s unhappiness is an assumption about the mission of women’s history that is worth making explicit.

Although Lebsock impatiently criticizes my “reification of the march of feminism as the major theme of northern women’s history,” she herself is nonetheless deeply concerned with a specific agenda for women’s history for which *Within the Plantation Household* has “disturbing implications.” In passing, let it be noted that I did not claim that all northern women were feminists, but only that much of the mainstream of women’s history has been written as if feminism were its primary standard. Lebsock confirms my view. If I understand her meaning, which, to be sure, requires some effort, she believes that women’s history must serve an important, if largely unstated, ideological cause by, at the very least, demonstrating women’s centrality to American history and telling an unfamiliar story.

In Lebsock’s view, *Within the Plantation Household* tells a depressingly familiar story that minimizes women’s centrality to southern (and American) history and reinforces the notion of southern distinctiveness. She also suggests that my book is essentially unoriginal. She does not notice that, therefore, in condemning it, she condemns the other recent works in southern women’s history, which she claims to admire. But that contradiction is for her to resolve. The more significant problem lies in her implicit argument that women’s history must serve a specific political, and presumably intellectual, agenda, namely to disrupt prevailing historical paradigms. She does not, in other words, find it acceptable to argue that at least some women—indeed perhaps the great majority—have felt themselves to be integral members of societies the prevailing values of which they supported. She apparently also does not find it acceptable to argue that the oppression under which some women suffered had consequences for their lives and even their identities. She even does not find it acceptable to argue that membership in a slave society distinguished the experience of southern women from the experience of women in northern free society. This, to borrow from Toni Morrison’s wonderfully ironic refrain, “is a story which cannot be told.” But it is not clear, in this case,

whether it cannot be told because it is inaccurate or because it is not the story that Lebsock wants to hear.

Lebsock engages in a sleight of hand that exposes her overriding concern for the ideological purity of women's history. For, contrary to her palpable distortion, I did not argue that southern women merely followed their men into a defense of slavery and conservative values. I argued the opposite—that southern slave society must be understood as the creation of both men and women slaveholders, under the conditions imposed by their class relations with black slaves and poorer whites. And I argued that life in a slave society decisively shaped women's experience. To argue the reverse, as Lebsock does here and elsewhere, trivializes slavery. I am sorry that Lebsock finds my conclusions so distasteful, but my concern is with writing history, not with following her preferred ideological line.

Notwithstanding Lebsock's discomfort with the arguments of *Within the Plantation Household*, she is determined to demonstrate that they are not new and even that I unfairly slight the work of others. She sharply takes me to task for failing adequately to cite Catherine Clinton, Jean Friedman, and Jacqueline Jones on specific points. In fact, I do cite Clinton throughout, including on the "New Englandization" of women's history—precisely a matter on which Lebsock says I do not cite her (note 4, p. 401). I cite Jean Friedman's fine book frequently, although not on the matter of the change in women's personal narratives during and after the Civil War, on which point I cite Carol Bleser. But no, I do not frequently cite Jacqueline Jones on slave women's work, for the simple reason that her one chapter on slave women relies overwhelmingly on secondary sources, sprinkled with references to the WPA narratives, and did not teach me anything.

Above all, Lebsock reproaches me for treating Anne Scott as "an honored ancestor, not as a scholar whose ideas still speak." Scott, as Lebsock repeatedly insists, published *The Southern Lady* in 1970. Scott's seventy-nine pages on slaveholding women literally opened the modern field of southern women's history and placed all of us in her debt. But her recent work has not been devoted to the women of the plantation household. In a real sense, my book is a dialogue with Scott's, which is why I included her in my acknowledgements, as well as in the footnotes. However naively, I assumed that it was inappropriate to engage in a detailed debate with a pioneering essay, no matter how insightful. I proceeded according to my notion of proper respect for Ms. Scott's achievement, and I make no apology for preferring my notion to Lebsock's.

Throughout her review, Lebsock makes much of my use of "metaphor" which she disapprovingly contrasts with my paucity of "analysis." Meanwhile, she blithely defends Catherine Clinton's description of slaveholding women as "the slaves of slaves" on the

grounds that it was a metaphor. I can only conclude that metaphor should be denounced as an affront to science unless it is a metaphor of which Suzanne Lebsock approves. In this perspective, I fear that her reference to me as "Genovese" (p. 66) must also be read as a metaphor for her attitude towards women's historians: Some are the real thing, others only reflections of the man they marry. And yes, I do protest against the appearance in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* of this blatantly sexist insult—an insult no less sexist for its having been made by a woman.

ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE
Emory University

EDITOR'S NOTE: Professor Lebsock declined the opportunity to respond, except to express her regret for the appearance of the word Genovese instead of Fox-Genovese on page 66 of her essay, an error for which the editors share responsibility.

News and Notices

For the first time in its history, the Georgia Historical Society's fall meeting will be held in conjunction with those of the Florida Historical Society and the Alabama Historical Society with a three-day meeting stressing various aspects of the common heritage of the three states. The meeting will be held at the Ponce de Leon Resort and Convention Center in St. Augustine, Florida on October 4, 5, and 6, 1990. More details regarding registration, program sessions, and participants will be forthcoming in *GHS Footnotes* and other mailings.



Pending legislative approval of funds, the Georgia DeSoto Trails Commission will award contracts to qualified persons for research pertaining to the DeSoto expedition in Georgia. The deadline for receipt of proposals is August 1, 1990 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1990, and August 1, 1991 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1991. For further information contact Mr. Billy Townsend, Parks, Recreation, and Historic Sites Division, Department of Natural Resources, 205 Butler St., S.E., Twin Towers East 1352, Atlanta, Georgia 30334.



The Garland Publishing Company invites essays of five hundred to five thousand words on various aspects of the First World War. Entries will be published in the World War I volume of the *Encyclopedia of American Wars*. For more information contact Dr. A. C. Venzon, 14509 Triple Crown Place, Darnestown, Maryland 20878.



The Atlanta Historical Society announces the opening of the following manuscript collections for research: the Lawrence Willet Papers; the William Fulmer Hull Photograph Collection, pertaining primarily to the Midtown and Buckhead areas of Atlanta; the Florence Crittenton Home Papers; the papers of Augustus Robert Jones, a Polk County merchant and farmer; and the Child Service and Family Counseling Papers. For more information on these acquisitions or on the Society's other services and hours, contact the Society at 3101 Andrews Drive, NW, Atlanta, Georgia 30305, or phone (404) 261-1837.



Throughout 1990, North Carolina will commemorate its role in the Civil War with a series of events featuring tours, lectures, sym-

posiums, exhibits, films, reenactments, and other activities. Highlights of this year-long series of events included a ceremony marking the 125th anniversary of the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston to General William T. Sherman at Bennett Place, Durham, on April 26 and a naval symposium at Caswell-Neuse, Kinston, on May 19. Still to come are a lecture series on western North Carolina during the Civil War at the Zebulon B. Vance birthplace in Weaverville, on August 2-3; and a Civil War era concert at Somerset Place, Creswell, on September 1. Some events require registration. For more information write the Historic Sites Section, Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611, or phone (919) 733-7862.



The Virginia Historical Society is sponsoring a conference entitled "New Directions in Virginia History" to be held October 11-13, 1990. It will consist of plenary sessions, concurrent sessions, and teaching workshops, featuring historians, archivists, and teachers, and covering all periods of the commonwealth's history. For more information write William B. Obrochta, Virginia Historical Society, P.O. Box 7311, Richmond, Virginia 23221, or phone (804) 358-4901.



The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual competition. An award of \$250 will be given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1989 and August 31, 1990 by a member of the SEASECS or a person living or working in the SEASECS area. To be considered articles must be submitted in triplicate, postmarked by November 9, 1990, and sent to Professor Vincent Carretta, English Department, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.



The Southern Historical Association has issued a call for papers for its 56th Annual Meeting to be held in Fort Worth, Texas, November 13-16, 1991. The program committee invites proposals for individual papers and complete sessions. A one-page summary of the proposed papers and a curriculum vitae of the presenter must be submitted by October 1, 1990 to the program chair, Emory G. Evans, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742-7315.



Historical Westville will hold its annual "Fair of 1850" from October 24 through November 6. The fair will feature exhibits, demonstrations, building tours, and activities reminiscent of small town Georgia life in the 1850s. Of particular interest will be Muster Day, a reenactment by special troops from the Independent Company of Florida Volunteers, on Saturday, November 3, and a harvest sale on the Lumpkin town square throughout the weekend. For more information, write Westville, P.O. Box 1850, Lumpkin, Georgia 31815, or phone (912) 838-6310.



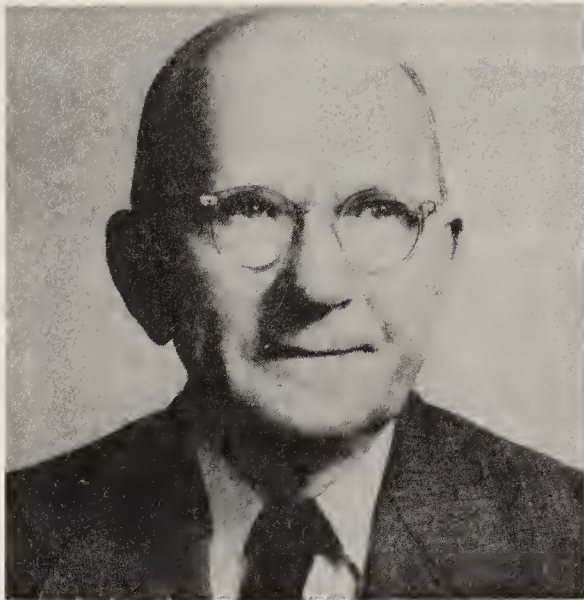
The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Oral History Association will be held October 8-11, 1990, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The meeting will include papers, panel discussions, media presentations, and workshop sessions relating to oral history. For more information contact Richard Sweterlitsch, Department of English, 221 Old Mill, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05405-0114.

THE E. MERTON COULTER AWARD
AND
THE WILLIAM BACON STEVENS AWARD
FOR 1989

Theda Perdue is the winner of the E. Merton Coulter Award for the best article to appear in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* in 1989. Her article, "The Conflict Within: The Cherokee Power Structure and Removal," appeared in the fall issue, a special issue commemorating the sesquicentennial of Cherokee Removal. Dr. Perdue is professor of history at the University of Kentucky.

The William Bacon Stevens Award for the best article by a graduate student to appear in the *Quarterly* over a two year period was awarded to Caroline Ziemke for her article, "Senator Richard B. Russell and the 'Lost Cause' in Vietnam, 1954-1968." Dr. Ziemke was a Ph.D. candidate in history at Ohio State University when her article appeared in the Spring 1988 issue of the *Quarterly*. She currently works for the Institute for Defense Analysis in Alexandria, Virginia.

The Coulter Award was established in 1973 in honor of E. Merton Coulter, the eminent professor of history at the University of Georgia who edited the *Quarterly* for fifty years, from 1924 to 1974. The William Bacon Stevens Award was named for the Savannah physician, clergyman, and historian who was among the founders of the Georgia Historical Society in 1837 and who served as state historian from 1841 to 1847. Both awards, which include \$100 stipends, were announced to the Society at its spring meeting in Savannah on April 7.



ELLIS MERTON COULTER

July 20, 1890 - July 5, 1981

This summer marks the one hundredth anniversary of Ellis Merton Coulter's birth. Born in Catawba County, North Carolina, he grew up in nearby Connally Springs, attended the University of North Carolina, the University of Wisconsin, and came to the University of Georgia as a faculty member in 1919. He made Athens his home for the rest of his life.

During his tenure at the University of Georgia he taught an estimated ten thousand students, published some forty books and well over one hundred articles (mainly on southern and Georgia history), secured many manuscripts and newspapers for the library, and was instrumental in the founding of the University Press. He edited the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* for fifty years, from 1924 to 1974. He published his first article on Georgia in 1921 and his last book was published in 1987, six years after his death. To Coulter history was an interesting story, and that is the way he lectured and wrote. This undoubtedly accounted for his widespread popularity as a teacher and an author.

Those of us who knew Dr. Coulter personally have fond memories of him as a person and a teacher. I knew him for forty-four years and was rather intimately associated with him for the last twenty-six. He was one of the most interesting lecturers I had in my student days and undoubtedly influenced my choice of the University of Wisconsin for my doctoral degree and perhaps my decision to specialize in Georgia history.

KENNETH COLEMAN
University of Georgia



The Georgia Historical Society Endowment Trust

In 1973, the Board of Curators of the Georgia Historical Society created a permanent Endowment Trust with a separate, independent Board of Trustees. The primary purpose of this fund is to allow for the care and maintenance of the Society's facilities. It is hoped that gifts from interested members will permit the Society to become entirely self-sufficient.

Members on every level, when making or reviewing their wills, are urged to remember the Georgia Historical Society. All contributions to the Endowment Fund are deductible for income tax purposes. Acknowledgment of the receipt of a contribution to the Endowment Fund will be made by letter. If the gift is intended as a memorial, the family of that person whom the gift honors will also be informed.

Legacies of books, papers, pictures, and museum materials, in addition to funds are also earnestly solicited. Please keep the Society in mind before disposing of any such items. No gift is insignificant, and all will be appreciated and utilized.

ENDOWMENT TRUST COMMITTEE

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In this issue

- ↪ Lynn Willoughby Ware, *Cotton Money: Antebellum Currency Conditions in the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley*
- ↪ W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Darien “Insurrection” of 1899: Black Protest During the Nadir of Race Relations*
- ↪ REVIEW ESSAY by Jason H. Silverman, *Roots Revisited: The Anglicization of America*
- ↪ NOTES & DOCUMENTS by Lee W. Formwalt, *Planters and Cotton Production as a Cause of Confederate Defeat*
- ↪ GEORGIA HISTORY IN PICTURES by F. N. Boney, *A British “Grand Tour” of Crackerland*